The Concept of Ethnicity in Early Antiquity:

Ethno-symbolic Identities in Ancient Greek, Biblical Hebrew, and Middle Babylonian Texts

Nathanael Paul Shelley

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

2016

Abstract

The Concept of Ethnicity in Early Antiquity: Ethno-symbolic Identities in Ancient Greek, Biblical Hebrew, and Middle Babylonian Texts

Nathanael Paul Shelley

The dissertation investigates the concept of ethnicity and race in three related cultures from the ancient Eastern Mediterranean by analyzing key ethnological terms, in their original languages and contexts, in order to determine their similarity to and difference from a modern anthropological definition of ethnicity. It employs an ethno-symbolic approach to social identity in order to evaluate the similarity and difference of terms for so-called "ethnic groups" in Ancient Greek, Biblical Hebrew, and Middle Babylonian. The evaluation is carried out using a historical comparative approach, first in three individual case studies and then synthetically. The study attempts to provide a documentary foundation for the critical, theoretical use of ancient documents in social and identity research, and the results suggest that a named collective of people from the first millennium BCE or later could be an ethnic group in the modern sense of the term (an ethnie), but that such terminology is generally imprecise before 1000 BCE.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

Tables

List of Maps

Maps

Acknowledgments

The following dissertation is actually my second attempt to complete a project concerning ancient terms for cultural difference. The previous attempt was interrupted by a fire in my apartment building that destroyed my personal library, notes, and research materials along with most of my personal possessions. The event caused many personal and administrative difficulties, but rebuilding the project under the resulting conditions gave me the courage to broaden the scope of the project beyond its original focus on Middle Babylonian texts.

I am indebted to a great many people whose assistance, both large and small, combined to make it possible for me to complete a rather unorthodox course in Ancient Near Eastern Studies. It would become another volume were I to recount everyone here so to all those whose friendship, support, or kindness helped carry me to the end: please accept my inadequate but sincere thanks.

I would like to thank especially a number of individuals who championed my cause over the years. From Buffalo, I thank Professor Sam Paley for being my mentor and friend. From Yale, I would like to thank: Sue Crockford-Peters for her support, guidance, and confidence in me; Ulla Kasten, for her patience and assistance with a neophyte like me; and Professor Eckart Frahm for providing my first experience of the richness of Babylonian literature. From Oxford, I wish to thank: Doctor Stephanie Dalley, whose work is a continual inspiration and whose professional advice has proven invaluable; and Faimon Roberts, whose friendship made England familiar and whose assistance made Sumerian comprehensible. From Columbia, I would like to thank: Professor Zainab Bahrani, for helping me start at CU and for writing the inspiration for the project; Professor Marc Van De Mieroop for being my teacher for many years; Lee Ullmann for being my ANE brother and leading the way; and Ellen Belcher for your support and experience. To all of these people, I express my gratitude.

I also appreciate the practical assistance that made the project possible. In particular, I would like to thank: Professor Steven Tinney for permission to study the Middle Babylonian tablets in the Babylonian Section of the Penn Museum; Professor Robert Englund for employment in the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative. Professor Allison Busch was the director of graduate studies in MESAAS during this project and a guardian angel who helped me restart a seemingly impossible project. Special thanks also to Jessica Rechtschaffer, who provided endless support and assistance over the years and in this project in particular.

The members of my defense committee deserve special appreciation. Professor David Carr agreed to participate under difficult time constraints yet still provided helpful feedback. Professor Gonzalo Rubio's advice continues to challenge and enlighten me and his support has been invaluable. Professor Frances Pritchett was the sharpest editor a student could want and her faith in me was inexhaustible and is most appreciated. Professor Karen Barkey's friendship, advice and assistance, both intellectual and professional, was essential to making this project possible. My supervisor, Professor Gil Anidjar, provided essential wisdom and crucial guidance that helped see the project completed.

Several friends and colleagues provided innumerable forms of assistance. I would like to

express particular thanks to those who helped me recover from the fire: Sarah Sachs, Bert Krassin, Nora Staal, Michael Nosek, Alain Mentha, the Escobar family, and Luke Mroz. I would also like to express special thanks to those who read drafts, sometimes multiple, and contributed feedback: Owen Cornwall for conversations that taught me the importance of plain speech; Heidi Dodgen Fessler for her narrative sensibilities and endless optimism; Eduardo Escobar for his specialist's eye and philological wit; and Reed Goodman for his Classical skills and interdisciplinary expertise. I am in all of their debt.

I owe a very special thanks to Barbara Paley, whose advice, support, and love sustained me and made the project possible.

Most of all I would like to thank: Sharon Golan, whose patience, strength, and affection are limitless and make me feel capable of anything; and my mother, Terry Shelley-Krassin, who made everything possible.

Dedication

For my mother, who taught me to believe in dreams.

Prefatory Notes

Bibliographic Abbreviations: Primary Sources and Reference Works

1R	Rawlinson, Henry Creswicke, Edwin Norris, George Smith, and Theophilus G Pinches. 1861. *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*. Vol. 1. London: Harrison and Sons.
BagM 13	*Baghdader Mitteilungen*. Berlin. band 13. 1982.
BDB	Brown, Francis, S. R Driver, Charles A Briggs, Edward Robinson, James Strong, and Wilhelm Gesenius. 2010. *The Brown, Driver, Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon: With an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic : Coded with the Numbering System from Strong's Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible*. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers.
BE 14	Clay, Albert Tobias. 1906. *Documents from the Temple Archives Dated in the Reigns of Cassite Rulers (Complete Dates)*. Philadelphia: University Museum [of the University of Pennsylvania].
BE 15	Clay, Albert Tobias. 1906. *Documents from the Temple Archives Dated in the Reigns of Cassite Rulers (Incomplete Dates)*. Philadelphia: University Museum [of the University of Pennsylvania].
BE 17	Radau, Hugo. 1908. *Letters to Cassite Kings from the Temple Archives of Nippur*. Philadelphia: University Museum [of the University of Pennsylvania].
BWL	Lambert, Wilfred George. 1996. *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
CAD	Roth, Martha Tobi. 1956ff. *The Assyrian dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. 20 Volumes. Chicago, Ill: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
EA	Knudtzon, J. A., and Otto Weber. 1915. *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*. Vorderasiatische Bibliothek 2. Leipzig: O. Zeller.
Gurney Iraq 11	Gurney, Oliver R. 1949. "Texts from Dur-Kurigalzu." *Iraq* 11 (01): 131–49.
Hdt.	Herodotus, *The Histories*.
Il.	Homer, *The Iliad*.
LSJ	Liddell, Henry George, Robert Scott, Henry Stuart Jones, Roderick McKenzie, and Thesaurus Linguae Graecae Project. 2011. "The Online Liddell-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon." http://www.tlg.uci.edu/lsj.

MRWH	Petschow, Herbert. 1974. *Mittelbabylonische Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden der Hilprecht-Sammlung Jena : mit Beiträgen zum mittelbabylonischen Recht*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
MUN	Mittelbabylonische Urkunden aus Nippur. Sigla for texts in Sassmannshausen, Leonard. 2001b. *Beiträge zur Verwaltung und Gesellschaft Babyloniens in der Kassitenzeit*. Baghdader Forschungen 21. Mainz: Von Zabern.
Muses	Foster, Benjamin Read. 2005. *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature*. 3nd edition. Bethesda, Md: CDL Press.
Ody.	Homer, *The Odyssey*.
PBS 2/2	Clay, Albert Tobias. 1912. *Documents from the Temple Archives of Nippur Dated in the Reigns of Cassite Rulers*. University of Pennsylvania, Publications of the Babylonian Section 2/2. Philadelphia: University Museum [of the University of Pennsylvania].
RECW	Kennedy, Rebecca Futo. 2013. *Race and Ethnicity in the Classical World : An Anthology of Primary Sources in Translation*. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc.
RIMB 2	Frame, Grant. 1995. *Rulers of Babylonia : From the Second Dynasty of Isin to the End of Assyrian Domination, 1157-612 B.C.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
RSV	Anonymous. 1974. *Holy Bible, Revised Standard Version*. Reissue edition. New York: Plume.
Strong	Strong, James. 1990. *The New Strong's Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible: With Main Concordance, Appendix to the Main Concordance, Topical Index to the Bible, Dictionary of the Hebrew Bible, Dictionary of the Greek Testament*. Nashville, Tenn.: T. Nelson Publishers.
Thuc.	Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*.
UET 1	Gadd, C. J. 1928. *Royal Inscriptions*. Edited by Leon Legrain. Ur Excavations. Texts 1. London, Philadelphia: British Museum, University Museum.

Bible Abbreviations, Verses, and Chapters

When books and articles cite biblical passages by chapter and verse, they usually follow this order: abbreviation for the biblical book, followed by the chapter number, followed by the verse.[1] An example is Isa 44:28 (chapter 44, verse 28). If more than one verse is cited, dashes and commas can be used: Isa 44:20, 28 or Isa 44:10–13, 28.

Gen	The Book of Genesis
Exo	The Book of Exodus
Lev	The Book of Leviticus
Num	The Book of Numbers
Deut	The Book of Deuteronomy
Josh	The Book of Joshua
Judg	The Book of Judges
Ruth	The Book of Ruth
1 Sam	The First Book of Samuel
2 Sam	The Second Book of Samuel
1 Kgs	The First Book of Kings
2 Kgs	The Second Book of Kings
1 Chr	The First Book of Chronicles
2 Chr	The Second Book of Chronicles
Ezra	The Book of Ezra
Neh	The Book of Nehemiah
Esth	The Book of Esther
Pss	The Book of Psalms
Prov	The Book of Proverbs
Isa	The Book of Isaiah
Jer	The Book of Jeremiah
Lam	The Book of Lamentations
Ezek	The Book of Ezekiel
Dan	The Book of Dan
Hos	The Book of Hosea
Joel	The Book of Joel
Amos	The Book of Amos
Obad	The Book of Obadiah
Jonah	The Book of Jonah
Mic	The Book of Micah
Hab	The Book of Habakkuk
Zeph	The Book of Zephaniah
Hag	The Book of Haggai
Mal	The Book of Malachi

Standard Abbreviations

adj.	adjective
f.	feminine
GN	Geographic name
Gk.	Greek
Lat.	Latin
lit.	literally
m.	masculine
MB	Middle Babylonian
n.	noun
PN	Personal name
s.v.	Lat. *sub voce* “under the word”: used to refer to an entry in a dictionary.
sic	Lat. *sic erat scriptum* “thus it was written”: used to indicate that a quotation was transcribed exactly as found in the source text, complete with any errors.

1 Following the system outlined in Carr 2010: 18.

Note on spelling and transliteration

Wherever possible, the adopted spellings of words in ancient languages have attempted to replicate the forms most familiar to English speakers. Please refer to the footnotes for linguistic details.

Ancient Greek: In quoted passages the spellings conform to the usage in the cited source translation, and while this may result in some inconsistent and idiosyncratic transliterations of the Greek, it is intended to make the prose of the present work as accessible as possible while preserving the utility of consulting the cited references.[2]

Biblical Hebrew: The romanized transliterations of Hebrew are simplified and attempt to follow a common usage. The letter tzadi (צ) is written "ts" as in *mitsri* (מצרי), chet (ח) is written "ch" as in *mishpachah* (משפחה), non-final ayin (ע) is written " ` " as in *`am* (עם), and non-final aleph (א) is written " ' " as in *'ezrah* (אזרח).

Middle Babylonian (Akkadian): The romanized transliterations of Babylonian names follow standard Assyriological practice, except for names, which are written without the normal diacritic marks and shin (*š*) is written as "sh". Note that many Akkadian words are expressed with Sumerian logograms, which are written in capital letters.

2 I am not formally trained in Greek so I count myself among the readers for whom I hope to make the prose accessible without doing damage to the superior quality of the translators' works.

Chapter One: Ethnicity

On that day the lands of Shubur and Hamazi, as well as twin-tongued Sumer — great mound of the power of lordship — together with Akkad — the mound that has all that is befitting — and even the land Martu, resting in green pastures, Yea, the whole world of well-ruled people, will be able to speak to Enlil in one language!
~ Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta: "The Spell of Nudimmud" (140–146)[3]

Introduction

Any survey of the peoples of the planet Earth, at any time in recorded history, will make clear that human beings organize themselves according to diverse methods and schemata, and that they represent and understand this diversity through a myriad of forms and concepts. The idea of human social difference, or alterity, is probably as old as consciousness itself.[4] In any group of people, divisions, *differences*, will immediately be perceived by each individual. The idea that human groups are different from one another is obvious, but the classification of how they are different, and the explanation of why this is so, have been a mainstay of human investigative and narrative activity for thousands of years. The present study is interested in these classifications.

Most people in the world today classify human social difference according to forms such as ethnicity, gender, and age-category, and use them to organize the peoples of humanity into recognizable, comprehensible groups. Western governments use such concepts in official forms and documents as the predominant distinguishing marks of a person.[5] Consider how familiar descriptions like, "black male teen," "Asian middle-aged female" or "Caucasian male

3 Vanstiphout, H. L. J., and Jerrold S. Cooper. 2003. *Epics of Sumerian kings : the matter of Aratta.* Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature.

4 Corbey and Leersen 1991: vi and passim.

5 For a history of the identity categories in the US Census, see Prewitt 2013.

senior-citizen" sound today, and how unusual "Moorish courtier," "Christian Burgher's wife," or "migrant student" seem in comparison. It is not that these words have become entirely meaningless—Christians and students still exist, as do migrants and courtiers, in a manner of speaking—but the concepts to which the terms point have declined in social relevance. To select one of these terms as a primary description of a stranger would seem inadequate or even confusing today, unless the context provided significance to the terms and made such identifiers useful. Where once these terms would have provided useful descriptions of people, now they appear obtuse or even silly.

Descriptive terms provide more information about the speaker and the speaker's worldview than they provide about any kind of actual qualities of the individual or groups being described. We cannot usually evaluate how accurately a term describes a person, even if the speaker is describing himself; but the utterance itself, the term, becomes a useful fact that can be analyzed when it is written down, regardless of the factual reality it was intended to describe. Descriptive terms for social difference—or more accurately, the patterns of the use of descriptive terms for social difference—provide important information about the user's perception of the world. These terms are data that can be approached ethnologically, perhaps even ethnographically, to analyze the worldview of the author of a text.[6]

Innumerable studies of identity have been written, and scholars of culture have made much progress in creating understandable models of the frames (or frameworks) in which identity functions. Yet despite this progress, disagreements over fundamental issues remain. These disagreements are particularly significant in the study of ethnicity, and reveal the ambiguity and confusion that conceptually underlies the category. Nonetheless, despite

6 See Detienne 2007 for a discussion and example of anthropology *with* ancient sources.

disagreements over the origin and history of the concept, scholars almost always assert that "ethnic communities have been present in every period and continent and have played an important role in all societies."[7] Can we be certain that ethnic difference has always existed? Is all difference between social groups ethnic? How do these differences manifest historically, particularly in the distant past?

Texts from the first millennium BCE have been used to demonstrate historic ethnic communities and to discuss the form and function of social difference in history, but most of this work has focused on Greek and Roman texts. By contrast, few works dedicated to ethnicity have turned their attention to the Ancient Near East, or "Middle East", a region and set of cultures that offers a much older and much larger textual tradition for the discussion of ancient identity, but with few exceptions this material remains unavailable to non-specialists and has not been integrated into anthropological or cultural studies.[8] Furthermore, no critical study of ethnicity has included textual materials older than the first millennium BCE, which is significant because every state organization in the world collapsed around the mid-twelfth century BCE, creating a disjuncture between early antiquity and the Iron Age civilizations that became the foundation of the cultures of the modern world. If it is true that ethnic communities were present in every period and continent then texts from before the Bronze Age Collapse should contain evidence of ethnic markers or symbols, and this evidence, if it does in fact exist, should be integrated into the critical framework of the history of ethnicity.

The following dissertation is about symbols and identity. It is about symbols: their

7 Hutchinson and Smith 1996: 3.

8 Notably, Stephen Grosby stands out as a the key exception. His work is discussed in considerable detail in chapter three.

utilization, their mobilization, and the fragmentary remains of these actions in written records. It is also about identity: modern conceptions of social categories, ancient conceptions of social difference, and the similarities and differences between the two. Ultimately, it is about the concepts of ethnicity, as symbols and identities, in the ancient past and in the study of the ancient past today.

The study of social difference in the past is still underdeveloped compared to studies of present day societies, and while scholars of race and ethnicity occasionally use ancient historical evidence to support their theories of identity, an academic disciplinary division usually prevents anything more than a superficial engagement with the identities of the past.[9] Similarly, studies of historical identities within different disciplines often deal with ethnic and racial groups of the past in their areas of specialization (e.g. Greek or Hebrew) but the definitions and approaches that scholars of those disciplines employ are idiosyncratically adapted for the evidence of the associated regions; thus they are often incompatible with studies and materials from other times and places.[10]

The present study is intended to facilitate comparative approaches to historical social identities; in particular, it seeks to bring evidence from three cultures—Ancient Greek, Biblical Hebrew, and Middle (Kassite) Babylonian—into conversation with each other and with a modern, critical understanding of ethnic identity.

9 Hutchinson and Smith's 1996 survey of Ethnicity contains an entire chapter on "Ethnicity in History" yet only a single chapter deals with ancient identity, that of the Ancient Greeks.

10 Today, studies of Ancient Greece tend to focus on theories of race and racism, while studies of the Hebrew Bible deal primarily with theories of ethnicity. Ethnic groups have not been studied systematically in the study of cuneiform documents, and most approaches concerning identity in the Ancient Near East have been archaeological and concerned with the material record.

Ethnicity

Since the 1980s, the concept of ethnicity has received an increasing amount of attention in both academic and popular publications.[11] The concept has become the focus of multiple journals and annual conferences, and it has arisen as one of the primary ways to discuss demographic features of any community, in the past or present. Historians and archaeologists have investigated the identities of "ethnic" groups of the past, and numerous surveys and collections catalog the identifiers and descriptions of such groups.[12] However, problems often appear when one attempts to compare the results presented in different collections, from one time period or another. Despite the explosion of interest in the subject of ethnicity, scholars have used the concept and terminology inconsistently.

A precise definition of the concept of ethnicity remains elusive, and the inconsistencies among different historical studies are the result of this lack of clarity. Each author must navigate difficult questions: What is the relationship between race and ethnicity? How do ethnic groups form? What precisely distinguishes the differences, the boundaries, between different ethnic groups (categories)? What does an ethnic identification look like, or more precisely, what does a marker of belonging to any particular ethnic group look like? In sum, what is the definition of ethnicity?

Despite this lack of clarity in the definition, historians identify "ethnic" groups in the past.[13] This is not unreasonable, because authors typically provide justifications for their

11 The term "ethnicity" first appeared in the 1950s in the English language (Hutchinson and Smith, 1996: 4). From 1978 to 2008, its use in English publications increased 179% (*Google Ngram viewer* s.v. "ethnicity." http://books.google.com/ngrams. Google Inc., 2014. Retrieved October 25, 2014.)

12 See the bibliography for a list of examples concerning Ancient Greece, the Hebrew Bible, and Ancient Babylonia.

13 In the present project, the terms "ethnic" and "ethnicity," when written in scare quotes, refer to the concept historians denote when identifying a historical cultural group as an ethnic group. They refer to the writer's

approach and a definition of ethnicity or race in their study. The problem is that there are differences among definitions, which makes cross cultural, comparative work difficult or even impossible.

Another, more significant, problem is the way in which scholars of different disciplines have relied on one another's work to define historical cultural groups. The identification and definition of ancient “peoples” is a dependent process. Philologists identify the names of historical cultural groups (i.e. gentilics) in ancient texts. These are proper names that are translated into English like "Amorite" or "Phoenician." Then historians tend to look for these gentilic descriptions in literature and other writings, and they use these descriptions to define the character and attributes of the identified group. Archaeologists search for patterns in the material record that can be associated with the named group. Historical anthropologists draw on these interpretations and then speak of ethnogenesis, founder groups, and identity formation based on the collected information. Art historians also take the information and define styles and forms with the associated groups, and stylistic influences associated with the different groups are analyzed and considered in relation to one another. Minority groups and subcultures are often described as "ethnic" groups at this point, mainly as a convenience. And then scholars of culture, such as anthropologists and sociologists, use the results of this research to discuss the history of the concept of ethnicity itself. The entire cycle is precariously close to being tautological. When scholars describe an ancient group of people as an ethnic group, what do they mean?

---

conception and definition of an ethnic group, which may not necessarily be consistent with the modern anthropological definition. So while all writers claim that "ethnic" groups are *ethnies* and possess ethnic characteristics, not all "ethnic" groups are actually ethnic categories, but instead may fit some other form of social difference, such as nationality, religion, or another form of identity.

The term "ethnicity" first appeared in the 1950s in the English language, but the meaning and usage has varied.[14] It can mean "the essence of an ethnic group" or "the quality of belonging to an ethnic community or group," or "what it is you have if you are an 'ethnic group'."[15] Alternatively, it may refer to a field of study: the classification of peoples and the relations between groups, in a context of "self-other" distinctions.[16] The noun"ethnicity" derives from the much older term “ethnic" which occurred in English as early as the Middle Ages. The adjective "ethnic" derives from the ancient Greek term *ethnos*, which was used as a synonym for gentile, meaning "non-Christian and non-Jewish pagan" in New Testament Greek.[17] The dichotomy of a non-ethnic "us" and an ethnic "other" still preserves a fragment of this ancient distinction—consider what type of food is served in an "ethnic" restaurant, for example. In French, the Greek *ethnos* survives as *ethnie*. Since the English language has no concrete noun for *ethnos* or *ethnie*, the French term is used in many studies of ethnicity and nationalism to denote an "ethnic community" or "ethnic group." This term is preferred to "ethnicity" because ethnie lacks the ambiguity of the more abstract concept, ethnicity, and refers specifically to the bounded idea of an ethnic social group. When scholars of identity refer to historical ethnic groups, they are talking about ethnies.

As with the concept of ethnicity, the concept of ethnie has no agreed stipulative or ostensive definition, and the issue is complicated by the levels of incorporation that named human-culture communities display.[18] A traditional typology distinguishes four such levels: an

14 Hutchinson and Smith 1996: 4.

15 Tonkin et al. 1989: 15.

16 Eriksen 2010: 4.

17 See chapter two for a more detailed discussion of this entire process.

18 Hutchinson and Smith 1996: 5.

ethnic category, which is simply a perceived cultural difference between the group and outsiders as well as a sense of the boundary between them; an *ethnic network*, in which some regular interaction between ethnic members distributes resources among its members; an *ethnic association*, where members develop common interests and political organizations to express them at a collective, corporate level; and finally, the *ethnic community*, which possesses a permanent, physically bounded territory, over and above its political organizations.[19]

In historical documents, the ethnie can be identified through an analysis of *ethnic markers*. Ethnic markers are the various signs that signal an identification with at least one incorporation level of the ethnie. Examples include proper names, descriptions, pejoratives, and stereotypes, as well as depictions in physical media like paintings or sculpture. Two special types of ethnic markers can be identified when information about the user can be deduced. The *ethnic identification* is the first, which is where the writer explicitly claims membership or an association with a particular ethnie. The statement, "I am Greek" would be an ethnic identification. The *ethnic ascription* is the other, and it refers to the markers that a writer assigns to members of an ethnie that is explicitly identified as different from the user's group. The statement, “you are Greek” would be an ethnic ascription. Taken together, the terms "ethnic ascriptions" and "ethnic identification" represent the two orientations of evidence available for the historical study of ethnic groups.[20]

---

19 Cf. Handelman 1977; and Hutchinson and Smith 1996: 6.

20 I prefer the terms "ethnic ascription" and "ethnic identification" as descriptive labels for ethnological evidence rather than the anthropological terms "etic" and "emic," respectively. When too much emphasis is placed on these categories, confusion can arise that can lead to the mistaken view that etic (external) views are "objective" while emic (internal) views are subjective. As Jonathan Hall put it, "The danger of the emic-etic dichotomy in the study of ethnic identity lies in the possibility of establishing a sterile debate between ethnic truth and ethnic fiction." (Hall 1997:18-9). Emic utterances, whether written or spoken, are not false. They simply represent a different viewpoint, and all evidence, especially linguistic evidence, should be considered useful for analysis. See Boyarin 2009: 9, n.8, for elaboration on this protest.

The present project does not offer a new definition of ethnicity. It is not attempting to advance our theoretical understanding of the concept, and it will not be evaluating different approaches to the concept of ethnicity. Rather, it is evaluating the accuracy and utility of the concept of ethnicity in historical studies by looking at ancient evidence that has been called "ethnic" by recent scholars. It seeks to unpack the diverse elements associated with "ethnicity," that is, the concepts called ethnic, in order to highlight and scrutinize evidence that can be considered facts about ancient identities.

The concept of ethnicity requires textual evidence from the ancient world in order to satisfy the claim to universal existence and applicability, and this dissertation investigates the viability of finding such evidence in three disparate cultural spheres from the ancient Eastern Mediterranean.

Ethnie: The concept of ethnicity

The term "ethnie" is preferable to the term "ethnicity" when referring explicitly to the concept of ethnic identity because, as mentioned previously, "ethnie" lacks the broader definition and ambiguities of the general term "ethnicity." Ethnie describes the concept of the ethnic group specifically. It does not include the corollaries of ethnic thought such as ethnic violence, ethnic politics, or ethnic theory, and as a result, it is less challenging to define precisely. To begin defining the ethnie, it is useful to clarify the boundaries of the concept by specifying what the ethnie is not. The following section demonstrates that the ethnie is not synonymous with race, alterity, or the simple ascription of "ethnicity;" it then provides a basic definition of the ethnie.

Ethnicity and Race

Ethnicity is not race. Despite the confusion between the two in common or popular usage, and even in the American census, the concept of ethnicity is distinct and different from the concept of race.[21] Both terms represent social categories, and both terms provide information about taxonomic human types; thus when used superficially, they can appear quite similar in form and function. When they are scrutinized more closely, however, they appear to derive signification from two different ideological viewpoints. Race assumes that biological differences between human categories are marked by physical differences of appearance, and that the biological differences can be read or inferred from the basis of physical appearance.[22] This basis is sometimes called "visual difference" in the United States.[23] Ethnicity, in contrast, has no biological foundation. While biology may play a role in the description of ethnic communities and their histories, the focus of ethnicity is on culture. Since Frederik Barth in 1969, theories of ethnicity have foregrounded cultural elements such as language, religion, dress, and customs, as the substance of ethnicity. This substance is mutable and changes over time, but—most importantly—it can be learned. Ethnicity is socially constructed and it changes over time—unlike race, which is supposed to be timeless, innate, and inborn as biology.

Some definitions of "race" in recent publications have had a cultural focus rather than a biological one, aligning the term more closely with ethnicity.[24] Writers of these publications describe race as "ideological difference" between groups of people and assert that race is a

21 The 2010 United States Census question #9 asked the census taker to specify the head of household's race but conflated ethnic categories (i.e. "African American") with racial ("white") and national ("Filipino" or "Korean") categories.

22 Eriksen 2010: 5-9.

23 Eriksen 2010: 8.

24 e.g. Classical historians like Ellen McCoskey (2012) and Benjamin Isaac (2004), Intellectual historians like J.E.H. Smith 2012, or sociologists like Michael Omi and Howard Winant (1994).

social concept.[25] This assertion is not unreasonable, and scholars who follow this mode of argumentation unanimously provide an explanation for why they prefer the label "race" to the label "ethnicity" in their investigation, but the differences are idiosyncratic. "Race" evokes a different set of secondary associations than "ethnicity" does for modern readers, such as notions of racism or blood. Writers who use "race" instead of "ethnicity" highlight those associations; but this is a matter of interpretation when dealing with markers of identity in historical texts, and one that does not alter the data being considered.[26] As Benjamin Isaac put it, "race does not exist. Racism does."[27] The historical study of race is really the study of historical racism. Scholars who focus on race are concerned with the conflicts or prejudices of racial encounters, but the evidence used to investigate historical and social categories is no different from that used for the ethnie. Authors who write about ideological race in history are describing ethnies in the past. Both ideological race and “ethnicity” are defined as socially constructed, and both utilize translation to make sense of historical ethnological evidence, so this sense of "race" may be considered functionally synonymous with "ethnicity" in historical studies.[28]

While ethnicity is not a synonym for race, the history of racial thought cannot be

25 McCoskey 2012: 2; cf. Omi and Winant 1994: 55.

26 The specific reasons some Classicists, such as McCoskey and Isaac, prefer to use the term race for ancient social categories will be discussed in chapter two.

27 Isaac 2004: 33-37.

28 Omi and Winant are the primary theorists for the ideological approach to race. Their 1986 (revised in 1994) work, *Racial Formation in the United States*, has served as the primary model for scholars wishing to highlight the perceptual role appearance plays in the formation of categories of social difference. In their earlier works, they generally considered race as a "manifestation of ethnicity" (1994: 14 n.20), but more recently they have clarified that race is a more accurate rendering of modern categories of social difference than ethnicity because of the role whiteness plays in creating social hierarchies (2014: 21-46). Since the present study is not interested in investigating historical notions of whiteness nor of the perceptual role skin complexion plays in the formation of social difference, I prefer the more generic "ethnicity" to "race."

dismissed. Concepts of race played a much longer role in historical research than the comparatively short time that ethnic theory has been involved, and the perception of race has had an incalculable effect on the way history has been written and understood. A full summary of these issues is beyond the focus of the present study, but the legacies of scientific racism are important to observe because they demonstrate the influence that conceptions of identity wield in the formation of perceptions of historical societies.[29] The legacies show, in part, what is at stake when we talk about historical ethnies.

The modern conception of race was formed "within the specific context of European exploration, which brought Europeans into greater contact with populations in both Africa and the Americas, and led to the employment of a range of ideas and texts—including both the Bible and ancient environmental theory—in explaining the differences perceived in such encounters."[30] Racial theories were often premised on alleged empirical observation, and such ideas were soon harnessed to claim European superiority, casting Europeans as racially, and therefore "naturally," superior. These ideas became important rationalizations in the rise of European colonialism and the African slave trade.[31] By the nineteenth century, new "scientific" models of the natural world were flourishing, and these new theories incorporated racial ideas of human diversity.[32] Arthur de Gobineau's *Essai sur l'Inégalité des Races* (1853) was a defining work of this era, consolidating the prevailing theories into the new "scientific" explanation of race.[33] The core premise of such "scientific" theories was that race is "natural" and, by

29 See Bohrer 2003 for a detailed survey of the formation of ancient Mesopotamian societies in the 18th and 19th centuries. For a discussion of the consequences of this legacy see Bahrani 2003: 19-49 and Bahrani 2006.

30 McCoskey 2012: 3-4.

31 Bernal 1997:75-92.

32 Stepan 1982: 1-6.

33 McCoskey 2012: 4.

extension, immutable; and the bonding of race and biology then acquired an authority that persists in perceptions of race to this day. "Scientific" racism underwent significant decline during the twentieth century. For several decades now, no mainstream scientist has considered race a biologically significant category.[34] As the "science" in "scientific" racism was systematically dismantled, geneticists demonstrated that there is as much genetic variation between two members of a supposed race as between two member of supposedly different races.[35] In 1994, Discover magazine dedicated an entire issue to the flawed science of biological race.[36] The idea of scientific race was dead. Yet its legacy lived on.

The legacy of pseudo-scientific racial theory continues to affect society today, and historical studies are not exempt. The foundation of professional scholarship, especially with regard to geographical regions and racial groups, was established at the height of European imperialism in the East.[37] The ordering of this knowledge into academic disciplines was unmistakably connected to the principles of racial theory.[38] And racial theory not only influenced all areas of academic thinking of its time, it actually formed the scientific basis of world culture.[39] Of course, mainstream scholars today reject the notions of biological race theory, and the focus of identity research has overwhelmingly shifted to social construction, as already noted, but the legacy of racial theory remains in the terminology used to study the past. The term "people" has replaced the term "race" in historical works, but the categories

34 Smith, J.E.H. 2012: 504.

35 Shown most notably by Lewontin 1972: 381-398.

36 Discover, vol. 15, no. 11, (November 1994).

37 Bahrani 2006: 50.

38 Bahrani 2003: 13-49.

39 Said 1978: 227.

themselves are still organized around principles that were formulated with race theory.[40] These problems have been discussed in detail by numerous scholars working in the area of colonial criticism and postcolonial theory, most notably by Edward Said in his *Orientalism*, which demonstrated how works of philology and linguistics can reproduce imperial hierarchies of power through the act of translation.[41] In order to move beyond these inherited categories, we must revisit the terminology for historical categories *in their own contexts*, to redefine the language that lies at the basis of our understanding of historical difference. Whether these terms are "ethnic," "racial" or something else will be discussed in the chapter five.

Ethnicity and Alterity

Ethnicity is not alterity. Alterity is "otherness; specifically the quality or state of being radically alien to the conscious self or to some particular orientation."[42] It is the philosophical notion of otherness and often appears in contrast to a philosophical notion called "identity." Identity is whatever "I" am. Alterity is whatever "I" am not. The terminology appears frequently in works concerning social identity because, whatever the difficulty in defining them precisely, the concepts of "race" or "ethnicity" very clearly inhabit a space of difference, and thus of alterity. But alterity is not the same as race or ethnicity. All three are social constructs, but they differ by where they appear and in what contexts.[43] The place of race is in the perception of biological difference. The place of ethnicity is in (sub-)cultural difference.

Alterity studies began in 1970 with the work of Emmanuel Lévinas, who worked in the

40 Bahrani 2006: 50-1.

41 Said 1978. See Asad 1973, Clifford and Marcus 1986, Spivak 1987, or Young 1995 for additional contributions and bibliography.

42 *Merriam-Webster.com* s.v. "Alterity." http://www.merriam-webster.com, 2014. Web. 25 October 2014.

43 Van Alphen 1991: 1.

tradition of Philosophy and used the concept of otherness to model the transformation of the self into something alter, something different and new.[44] The concept of alterity was also used by Gayatri Spivak in 1989, though she used it to critique the role of the "Other" in Western thought, both epistemologically and politically.[45] This notion of otherness has been a preoccupation of postcolonial studies. By this definition, the place of alterity is in the discursive paradigms, or contested arrangements, of identity and cultural power in the modern world.

Parallel to the postcolonial approach, an anthropological interest in alterity developed along different lines, taking a structuralist approach that was not dissimilar from that of semiotics in its pursuit of an anthropological definition of identity. This structuralist approach examines the identity/alterity distinction in social research and analyzes the varying ways anthropologists have defined and used classificatory boundaries in their writings.[46] Gerd Baumann's analysis of the three "grammars of identity/alterity" collects and classifies these approaches and provides a useful framework for the discussion of degrees of difference.[47] These "grammars," which he calls "Orientalizing," "Segmentation" and "Encompassment," provide a structural framework for the analysis of identity symbols with regard to similarity (inclusion/membership) and difference (exclusion/otherness), and highlight the role politics and power play in the emphasis and selection of social symbols in various circumstances.

---

44 Levinas 1970, *Alterity and Transcendence*, collects the essays dealing with alterity. Others writers had been concerned with the "Other" before Levinas, most notably Hegal and Lacan, but it was only with Levinas that the specific notion of "alterity" was reified and discussed by that name.

45 Spivak 1989.

46 Corbey and Leersen 1991 represents an early formulation of the approach. Baumann 2004 provides a useful catalog of more recent techniques. Gringrich's "Conceptualizing Identities," pp. 1-16, provide a succinct history of influential works in studies of alterity.

47 Baumann 2004. The grammars are summarized in ch.2, pp. 18-52.

Ultimately, it is clear that ethnicity, while socially constructed, has specific associations rooted in the modern cultural milieu that make it more than simple alterity. Although it is also a constrained subcategory of alterity, ethnicity is not just alterity.

Ethnicity and "Ethnicity"

Finally, ethnicity is not "ethnicity." The concept of ethnicity is a specific type of category with particular associations, both in the past and the present, but some writers have used the term without these associations, as if it were a synonym for "sub-culture." Perhaps the novelty and popularity of the term in the 1980s made it a little too familiar and mercurial. Since then, scholars have sometimes written about "ethnic groups" without critically defining the terms.[48] Subsequently, with some exceptions, historians and archaeologists followed suit and began describing minority subcultures of the past as "ethnic groups."[49] The persistent appearance of the term "ethnicity" in historical studies can give the false impression that the concept is universal and that the category is ubiquitous, but this claim has never been adequately demonstrated with textual evidence. The present study investigates evidence from three ancient cultures that have been described as having ancient "ethnic groups" in order to evaluate whether, in fact, they possess a concept of ancient ethnicity, or whether the language functions along semantic lines that could be considered ethnic boundaries. Thus, just because a modern writer calls something "ethnic" does not mean the association should be considered appropriate. What scholars have called "ethnicity" may not critically qualify as ethnicity. So if

48 Kamp and Yoffee 1980 encouraged this practice in Ancient Near Eastern Studies, which became a common soon afterward, especially among archaeologists. Their definition was careful to distinguish between ethnic communities and simpler ethnic categories, but subsequent works by other scholars frequently blurred this distinction.

49 The word "ethnic" appears frequently in the Cambridge Ancient History, for example. The term is common in many ancient history books written in the last thirty years.

ethnicity (ethnie) is not race, alterity, or "ethnicity," what is it?

One definition of the ethnie is offered by Anthony D. Smith, who described it as "named units of population with common ancestry myths and historical memories, elements of shared culture, some link with a historic territory, and some measure of solidarity, at least among their elites."[50] This definition occupies a moderate position between different approaches to the definition of ethnicity, and it has found acceptance among many anthropologists.[51] It forms the foundation of the ethno-symbolic approach to ethnicity, which is the approach adopted by the present project for the reasons specified below, and it indicates the touchstones that will be used to evaluate the social categories visible in historical evidence. The types of evidence comprise: names (ethnonyms), stories (both myths and histories), cultural markers (linguistic, religious, or ethnic sub-cultural identifiers), geographic terms (territory), and political actions (political statements). These points are clarified in the final section below, but further exploration of the study of ethnicity is necessary to understand the selection of the ethno-symbolic approach.

Studies of Ethnicity

The Enlightenment concern with the development of civilization side-tracked interest in human diversity until the early nineteenth century, when a scholarly interest in human difference resumed.[52] The early-nineteenth-century notion of human difference took shape as the concept of race, but a definition was never clearly established; anthropologists and sociologists, as well as biologists and the public at large, debated and disagreed over the precise

50 Smith 1995: 57.

51 Leoussi and Grosby 2007, for example, is a collection featuring 20 scholars who either use it or are influenced by it.

52 Stocking 1987: 19.

meaning of the term. The concept of race, although it took different forms, remained the dominant mode of conceptualizing human groups, and was a synonym for national, cultural, and linguistic groups in most anthropological literature of the time.[53] By the end of the century, a concern for the study of culture and society broke from the study of physical, "racial" divisions of the human species. The turn of the century witnessed the particularization of the idea of "cultures" as historically conditioned, disparate entities, and the work of Franz Boas, especially, drove anthropology toward a particularist, historical approach to the study of cultures of diverse tribes and the diffusion of traits and ideas between cultures, against the prevailing idea of racial determinism.[54] Much of Boas's research showed that neither race nor language were barriers to the diffusion of ideas and that human behavior is determined by bodies of cultural traditions.[55] Boas's conclusions became central tenants of cultural anthropology, especially in the North American tradition.[56] The separation of culture and racial biology was reinforced in the 1920s and 1940s, in response to racist doctrines that had been used for political purposes, most notoriously during the Holocaust.[57] As a result of these political doctrines, the idea of race was heavily criticized, but for most anthropologists of the mid-twentieth century, the idea of a bounded, holistic, social unit, defined by language, culture, and political autonomy remained intact.[58] The concept of ethnicity developed in the 1960s, and was formulated as a conscious move away from the rigid associations of these earlier ideas.

53 Jones 1997: 43.

54 Stocking 1968: 214–33; and 1974: 1–20.

55 Jones 1997: 46.

56 Stocking 1974: 17-19.

57 Jones 1997: 48.

58 Jones 1997: 50-1.

Although the term "ethnicity" had not appeared before the 1950s, the roots of the modern study of ethnicity lie in the work of Max Weber.[59] He defined the ethnic group as a mass status group (*Stände*), and sought to combine the subjective and objective elements being debated in his time.[60] He called the ethnie, "human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration; this belief must be important for the propagation of group formation; conversely it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists."[61] Yet in this moment, we can already see the beginning of the tension between assigning a priority either to historical factors or to modern, political ones; throughout the work Weber oscillates between granting primacy to historical memories that shape ethnic identity, or to cultural and biological differences that limit it.[62]

Fredrik Barth established the foundation of modern studies of ethnicity in 1969 when he wrote his seminal "Introduction" criticizing the popular view of his time that ethnic phenomena appeared when two culturally distinctive groups encountered one another, usually in a colonial setting.[63] He shifted the focus from the content of particular cultures to the boundaries that separate, and thus produce, ethnic difference. He asked the question, "what is needed to make ethnic distinctions *emerge* in an area?"[64] For Barth, ethnies should be considered units of ascription, in which social boundaries ensure the persistence of the group,

59 Hutchinson and Smith 1996: 32.

60 Hutchinson and Smith 1996: 32.

61 Weber 1922: 389.

62 Hutchinson and Smith 1996: 32.

63 Eriksen 2010: 96.

64 Barth 1969: 17.

and symbolic markers of difference, such as language, dress, or cuisine perpetuate the community and require intensive anthropological study to be understood.[65] He defined the ethnie as a population that: 1) is largely biologically self-perpetuating; 2) shares fundamental cultural values, realized in overt unity in cultural forms; 3) makes up a field of communication and interaction; 4) has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order.[66] Two important observations are visible in Barth's works and definition. First, although he never says it explicitly, he seems to be emphasizing the importance of *historical perspective* as a necessary feature to understand ethnicity.[67] He describes a process by which occupational specialization and the development of group complementarity encourage the creation and enactment of distinguishing signs and, eventually, the emergence of distinctive groups. This process is referred to in later anthropology as *ethnogenesis*, and it highlights the importance of understanding the historical significance of a cultural signs that, when activated, become ethnic markers. The second observation is the recurring tension between the primacy of the historical past and the political stakes of the present. While Barth's focus on social construction is crucial to his view of ethnicity, he too oscillates between the role of the past and the present in the signification of ethnic signs. Subsequent anthropologists continued to struggle with these issues, and this division provides a convenient way to describe the major orientations in the study of ethnicity.

Since Barth, the approaches to ethnicity can be divided roughly into two camps, although

65 Hutchinson and Smith 1996: 9.

66 Barth 1969: 10-19.

67 Eriksen 2010: 96.

there are numerous subdivisions. The ideas of *primordialism* developed first, while those of *instrumentalism* appeared later. The idea of primordial attachments was first formally outlined by Edward Shils, who focused on kinship relations and noted the "ineffable significance attributed to ties of blood."[68] The concept was then expanded to larger social groups beyond simple "blood" relations by Clifford Geertz, who spoke of the "overpowering" attaching to certain ties that participants perceive as exterior, coercive, and "given."[69] In this view, "primordiality" is attributed by individuals to the ties of religion, blood, race, language, territory, and custom, but it is not actually sought as an objective quality of those bonds. Primordialist approaches to ethnicity attempt to explain the potency of particular symbols by focusing on the psychological dimension of ethnicity.[70] When a person asserts the power of an ancient identity or a particular form that claims its legitimacy from its antiquity, he or she is employing a primordialist view of ethnicity.

Primordialist approaches to ethnicity have been subject to much criticism for presenting a "static" and "naturalistic" view of ethnicity, and for lacking an optimal explanatory power. Most significantly, scholars frequently point out its weakness in accounting for change—the fluid way in which certain markers can evolve over time, the way people that can possess multiple identities, and the way communities can overlap.[71] Many of the new initiatives that use genetics are employing a primordialist perspective by linking genomic sequences to historical configurations of identity, with the same resulting strengths and weaknesses.

---

68 Shils 1957: 122; cf. Jones 1997: 65.

69 Geertz 1963: 109; cf. Hutchinson and Smith 1996: 8.

70 Jones 1997: 65.

71 Hutchinson and Smith 1996: 8.

The other major theoretical camp began as a continuation of Barth's intervention, and has gained prominence in recent decades. The Instrumentalist approach to ethnicity treats the ethnic markers as social, political, and cultural resources that are utilized by different interest and status groups.[72] Different scholars have highlighted different influences that can operate in this space. Abner Cohen, for example, interprets ethnic groups as interest groups. For him, an interest group is "not simply the sum total of its individual members, and its culture is not the sum total of the strategies adopted by independent individuals. Norms and beliefs and values are effective and have their own constraining power only because they are the collective representations of a group and are backed by the pressure of that group."[73] His formulation emphasizes the role that the collective, the ethnic community, plays in organizing and accomplishing strategic and political goals. Other versions of instrumentalism have emphasized the role other influences play, but the prevailing idea in this approach is the socially constructed nature of ethnicity. Individuals "mix and match" from a variety of ethnic heritages and choices to forge their own identities as individuals and as groups.[74] The instrumentalist approach accounts for change more effectively than the primordialist one, by providing a means to explain the different function of one sign in two different contexts; and issues such as hybridity and multiple identities prove much less challenging to incorporate and describe with this approach.

Instrumentalists are criticized for being overly concerned with the material interests, for failing to take seriously the participants' sense of their ethnie, and above all, for under-

72 Hutchinson and Smith 1996: 8-9.

73 Cohen 1974: xiii.

74 e.g. Bhabha 1990 or Hall 1992.

appreciating the influence and affect of ethnicity itself.[75] Many instrumentalists produce overly reductive models in which ethnicity is something that is observed rather than something that itself possesses gravity.[76] Another problem is the tendency for instrumentalist works to reduce ethnicity to merely economic and political relationships, thus neglecting the cultural dimension and emptying the ethnie of significance.[77] Finally, among the other weaknesses of instrumentalist models, many of them assume that human behavior is essentially rational and is directed toward maximizing self-interest; they thus disregard the dynamics of power in both intra-group and inter-group relations.[78]

The Ethno-symbolic Approach

Many attempts have been made to synthesize elements from both primordialist and instrumentalist approaches, with mixed results. One of the most successful of these attempts is the ethno-symbolic approach, which incorporates elements of both instrumentalist and primordial approaches by focusing on the symbolic value of ethnic markers, and examines their mobilization and implementation for the purposes of social and political action.[79] The ethno-symbolic approach began with the work of John Armstrong, who expanded on Barth's social interaction model to develop the idea that the social boundary was more durable than the members' cultural perceptions and attitudes that it enclosed.[80] He advanced the idea that myths, symbols, and communications provide the essential conceptual tools for the analysis of

75 Hutchinson and Smith 1996: 9.

76 Jones 1997: 76-7.

77 Deshen 1974: 281-4.

78 Bourdieu 1977; cf. Jones 1997: 79.

79 For a recent introduction, see Smith 2009. For a broad survey of its uses, see Leoussi and Grosby 2007.

80 Armstrong 1982.

the ethnic group over the *longue durée*.[81] Anthony D. Smith took the essential idea of the myth-symbol complex outlined by Armstrong and applied it to the role of ethnic groups in the formation of nations. He argued that in order to understand the nation we must understand the ethnies that underlie it, and to do so requires the examination of the particular symbols, myths, memories, and values that compose the ethnie.[82] According to Smith, the reasons for this necessity are numerous.

> "First, various combinations of these elements have played, and continue to play, a vital role in shaping social structures and cultures, defining and legitimating the relations of different sectors, groups and institutions within a community. Second, these same cultural elements have endowed each community with a distinctive symbolic repertoire in terms of language, religion, customs and institutions, which helps to differentiate it from other analogous communities in the eyes of both its members and outsiders, and they have raised the profile of the community and sharpened its social boundary and its opposition to outsiders, as much as the boundary has continued to define the community and divide 'us' from 'them'. Finally, shared values, memories, rituals and traditions have helped to ensure a sense of continuity with past generations of the community – a sentiment greatly enhanced by the widespread acceptance of collective symbols such as the flag, anthem or national holiday whose meanings may change over time but whose forms remain relatively fixed."[83]

The ethno-symbolic approach highlights the continuity between pre-modern and modern forms of social community without overlooking the influence of specifically modern ideas.[84] Most importantly, it provides a specific methodology for analyzing cultural symbols as ethnic markers, in order to articulate and define ethnies in a particular location and time.

The present project adopts the ethno-symbolic approach to ethnicity in order to investigate the numerous ethnies visible in three ancient cultures. Further details of the project

81 Smith 2009: 23.

82 Smith 2009: 24.

83 Smith 2009: 25.

84 Conversi 2007: 21.

are described below, but the adoption of the ethno-symbolic approach is not necessarily an endorsement of its model for the study of modern nations or nationality, a subject that does not concern the present project. Rather, the methodology is adopted here because it is a moderate approach to up-to-date ethnic theories and concerns symbols of identity, many of which can be found readily in ancient historical writings.

In addition to the theoretical concerns of ethnicity, which have been discussed in some detail, the study of historical ethnies requires consideration of inter-disciplinary topics, but a full treatment of them is beyond the scope of the present project. Three modern approaches to historical ethnicity are discussed below, including: archaeological approaches, because ethnicity plays an important role in the analysis and exposition of the material record of the past; philological approaches, because the reading of ancient symbols is an act of translation; and genetic approaches, because cutting-edge science relies heavily on historical concepts of identity to provide narrative meaning for its results.

Archaeological approaches to ethnicity are numerous, but overall they are too focused on the technical details of identification and interpretation to be of major assistance in the present project. Archaeology is ultimately derived from material evidence, the archaeological record, and while much modern archaeological concerns ethnological, demographical, and other social correlations, the results are interpretations of material finds.[85] The present study is not directly concerned with material evidence or any physical reality, but rather it seeks to elucidate the subjective world as it was understood and expressed by ancient writers. Consequently, while archaeological works do influence the historical contexts in which we consider the written evidence, archaeological studies of ethnicity cannot directly assist the present investigation.

85 Harris 1968: 683–5.

The footnotes in each case study provide references to works where archaeology can be found.[86]

The philological approaches to ethnicity are not as robust as the archaeological works, and there are differences among the priorities employed in different linguistic areas of specialization. Classical studies, Biblical studies, and Assyriology each have their own disciplinary traditions regarding the use and incorporation of concepts of ethnicity in historical research. Details on each of these are provided and discussed in detail in the corresponding chapters, but there has been almost no attempt to critically integrate the disparate approaches. A recent survey provides a valuable collection of updated information on studies of ancient ethnicity, but the essays are presented in a parallel rather than in a synthetic fashion.[87] The four general essays are primarily methodological and no integrated technique is offered, only important theoretical issues.[88] These issues have been been complicated by recent trends in the disparate fields. Publications in the last decade in Classical Studies have tended to focus on race and racism while Biblical Studies tended to focus on ethnicity and ethnogenesis; and in Near Eastern Studies archaeologists, not historians, primarily discussed either topic until recently.[89] Despite all these issues, two recent publications attest to the possibility of hermeneutic assessment, if not integration, between the different philological approaches.[90]

86 See Emberling 1997 for a sophisticated and modern approach to ethnicity in archaeology; Jones 1997 provides a synthetic overview and bibliography of archaeology concerning ethnicity in general. Her approach to ethnicity and conclusion cautions that the identification of static one-to-one correlations between material culture and "ethnic groups" is untenable because ethnic associations are discursive, located in the consciousness of the perceiver, and couched in specific historical moments (Jones 1997: 140–1).

87 McInerney 2014.

88 McInerney 2014. Chs. 2, 3, 4, and 5 highlight methodological difficulties to the study of ethnicity in: language, archaeology, world-systems approach, and presentist bias respectively, but no data-based integration results or synthetic technique is offered.

89 Cf. Isaac 2004; Eliav-Feldon 2009; Sparks 1998; Ben-Zvi and Edelman 2014; Van Soldt et al. 2015.

90 Stott 2008; and Depauw and Coussement 2014.

Katherine Stott's *Why Did they Write That Way* compares and contrasts references to written sources in Greek and Biblical texts, and Mark Depauw and Sandra Coussement's *Identifiers and Identification Methods in the Ancient World* examines the way linguistic terms signify identity within Sumero-Akkadian, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman texts. These and similar works are inspirations for the present project.

Another linguistic approach, that of ethnosemantics, has some similarities with the present project. Ethnosemantics, or cultural linguistics, is the field of linguistic anthropology that examines the role cultural difference plays in expressing and understanding concepts, such as words for colors, time, kinship, or organization.[91] The results of ethnosemantic research can inform the way we analyze historical terms of identity by providing useful models of modern concepts for comparison, but it is impossible to perform ethnosemantic studies of terminology in the past because we lack both 1) access to the cognitive processes of speakers of ancient languages and 2) sufficient evidence for diachronic precision, which are both required to create the reproducible codes analyzed by cultural linguists.[92] The present project employs a comparative historical technique, and while it shares some themes with cultural linguistics, it is too historical to benefit from the tools of ethnosemantics.

Genetic approaches to ethnic research provide a popular and tempting means to investigate ancient ethnies, but humanists and social scientists need to address several important issues before we will be in a position to integrate genetic research into the picture of historical ethnicity. Many of these issues were addressed by Nadia Abu El-Haj, who has

91 Birx 2006 s.v. "ethnosemantics." See Harris 1968: 582–604 for background and limitations of the subject; See Ottenheimer 2013: 18–27 for a recent update.

92 Harris 1968: 603–4.

demonstrated the dangers in correlating biological patterns of data with culturally constructed forms.[93] Specifically, she has shown the possibility of bias that statistical factors create in genetic anthropology,[94] a risk of the return of race science,[95] or at the very least post-facto determinism.[96] Shortly after the appearance of anthropological genetics, anthropologists cautioned that its use could repeat the same mistakes of basic early primordialism and would suffer from similar criticism.[97] Nonetheless, genetics has been useful in demonstrating the lack of a biological basis for the so-called "scientific" concept of race.[98] Genetics undoubtedly has a role to play in the future of research into identities in the past, but its utility is still quite limited at its current stage of advancement and incorporation in the social sciences. None of the major studies consulted in the areas of interest for the present project included even a single reference to genetics research to date.

Ethnicity in the present study

The present dissertation investigates the concept of ethnicity and race in three related cultures from the ancient Eastern Mediterranean by analyzing key ethnological terms, in their original languages and contexts, in order to determine their similarity to and difference from a modern anthropological definition of ethnicity. It employs an ethno-symbolic approach to social identity in order to evaluate the similarity and difference of terms for so-called "ethnic groups" in Ancient Greek, Biblical Hebrew, and Middle Babylonian. The chronological

93 Abu El-Haj 2012.

94 Abu El-Haj 2012: ch. 4.

95 Abu El-Haj 2012: ch. 1.

96 Abu El-Haj 2012: 247.

97 Hutchinson and Smith 1996: 8; cf. Van Den Berghe 1986.

98 Lewontin 1972: 381-398.

distribution of sources allows for some integrated discussion about the approach to and reception of ancient "ethnic" terminology that will be relevant to both historical and modern studies of the Near East.

The goal of the project is to provide a linguistic basis for (or lack thereof) for the claim that ancient social categories are analogous or similar to modern ethnic groups.

The ethno-symbolic approach to social identity, which combines elements of the primordialist and instrumentalist perspectives, defines ethnicity (ethnie) as:

1. a common proper name, to identify and express the "essence" of the community;
2. a myth of common ancestry, a myth rather than a fact, a myth that includes the idea of a common origin in time and place and that gives an ethnie a sense of "active kinship";
3. shared historical memories, or better, shared memories of a common past or pasts, including heroes, events, and their commemoration;
4. one or more elements of common culture, which need not be specified but normally include religion, customs, or language;
5. a link with a homeland, not necessarily its physical occupation by the ethnie, only its symbolic attachment to the ancestral land, as with diaspora peoples;
6. a sense of solidarity on the part of at least some sections of the ethnie's population.[99]

This definition provides the points of articulation that will be sought in the historical materials of the three case studies. The evidence that will be examined are: collective names (ethnonyms), stories (both myths and histories), cultural markers (language, or religious identifiers), geographic terms (territory), and political actions (political statements).

Ethnonyms

Collective names for people groups are the first category of evidence sought in each culture's corpus of texts. Smith defines the collective name as the ubiquitous and most essential of ethnic markers, arguing that there is unlikely to have ever been a ethnie without a

99 Smith 1986: ch. 2.

corresponding identifying mark, a name.[100] Proper names for people groups, ethnonyms, can come from a variety of sources; it's not their origin but their efficacy that makes them significant. In the literature to be investigated, ethnonyms appear in a variety of forms and contexts, as nouns and adjectives, and with descriptive and uncertain elements. Significantly, the vast majority of names examined will refer to a geographic location in some way, and in all cases the formation of usage of ethnonyms is regular enough for patterns to be productively discussed.

The terminology for names in various literature can be confusing. The typical word describing a collective name in English is “gentilic,” but the term is grammatically an adjective and should be written as “gentilic name.”[101] Some authors ignore this fact, and it frequently appears as a noun even in academic publications. The root of “gentilic” is the Greek term for family or clan,[102] so describing names derived from a geographic place name (e.g. “American”) as gentilic is actually a misnomer. A neologism “demonym” with the Greek root for “people” has recently appeared in some works of Geography, but the term does not yet appear in any major dictionaries. In the present study, descriptions of collective names for people will use “ethnonym” for nouns and “gentilic” for adjectives.

Ancestor myths

The stories describing a common myth of descent, i.e. ancestor myths, are the second category of evidence sought in each corpus. Smith describes ancestor myths as the sense of imputed common ancestry and that provides the means of collective location in the world and

100 Smith 1986: 22.

101 oed.com s.v. "gentilic." Oxford English Dictionary, 2015. Web. 12 July 2015.

102 These Greek terms are discussed in detail in chapter two.

the charter of community which explains its origins, growth, and destiny.[103] Obviously these are not necessarily evidence of actual descent, but such stories can reveal several components and layers of legend that can highlight themes such as spatial and temporal origins, of migration, of filiation, of "golden ages," decline, exile, and rebirth.[104] It is only much later that these separate myth-motifs are brought together, usually by nationalistic intellectuals, to form a fully elaborated mythology of ancestry.[105] All three case studies under investigation in the present study have fully elaborated mythologies, but it is not always possible to find myths of ancestry in every case.

Ethnic histories

The other crucial form of narrative story with connections to the ethnie is the shared history. It is the perception of a common tradition rooted in time, as a series of events that unites successive generations, each with its own set of common experiences that are added to the common stock.[106] In many ways this is the elaboration on the narratives established by the previous category, but it is rooted in a familiar time frame and involves a mostly recognizable community. The objectivity or authenticity of the narrative is much less important than the poetic and didactic purposes for which is it used.[107] In the three corpuses examined in the present study, all three contain writings about the past and so we should find evidence of this type of historical writing in each of the three cultures. As it turns out, this will surprisingly not be possible.

---

103 Smith 1986: 24.

104 Smith 1986: 25.

105 Smith 1986: 25.

106 Smith 1986: 25.

107 Smith 1986: 26.

Cultural elements

The fourth type of evidence of ethnic markers examined in the present study are the various elements that describe a particular group's distinctive shared culture. These cultural elements can be described explicitly or implicitly with words or phrases, but the essential factor is that they must be distinctive. Cultural markers of this type must highlight the group's distinctiveness in one or more ways. These are what Smith, citing Akzin, calls the "similarity-dissimilarity" patterns, in which members of an ethnie are similar and alike in those cultural traits in which they are dissimilar from non-members.[108] In the study of ethnic groups, both of past and present identities, this category of markers often figures as the most numerous and interesting portion of a traditional description of a people. Typical examples of cultural elements include language, religion, custom, practices, or costume, among others. In the three case studies of our study, numerous examples of cultural elements are described. The purpose in each is to be typologically representative, not comprehensive, and no effort is made to populate full descriptions of any particular group. Instead, the investigation will attempt to demonstrate the range of accessible and visible evidence within the known corpuses.

Homeland

The next evidence type are those references that associate particular groups with a specific territory of land. Smith indicates that an ethnie must always be tied to a particular locus or territory, which they call their "own," regardless of whether or not they actually reside there.[109] Members of an ethnie feel an alleged symbiosis between the community and "its" land, and the symbolic power of this motif is far more influential than any reality of the

108 Smith 1986: 26.

109 Smith 1986: 28.

experience on the ground; in fact, it is usually more powerful if the community is somehow separated for that land.[110] The motif of homeland is common to all three cultures discussed in the present study, and in the subsequent chapters the notions of territorial possession and symbolic homeland will be discussed in detail.

Solidarity

Finally, the sixth and final category of evidence to be investigated are representations of political solidarity with the ethnic community. Smith describes this category as a definite sense of identity and solidarity which often finds philanthropic or political expression, but significantly it is when that solidarity overrides class, factional, or regional divisions within a community.[111] For our purposes, a political expression of solidarity will be defined as any description of an explicit preference or commitment to a named cultural group over an eligible alternative. Unsurprisingly, this is the most difficult evidence type to identity and investigate in ancient sources, but there is sufficient evidence available from all three cultures to make this type of investigation possible. Specific problems in each culture will be discussed individually in each chapter.

For each case study, the preceding types of evidence will be evaluated within their own contexts in order to investigate the forms of ancient social identity visible in the documentation. Each case study will primarily focus on its own context and materials, but frequent reference to the analytical concepts described in the present chapter will be made. A constant adherence to critically defined terminology will be observed in order to promote accessibility and facilitate comparative investigations. The final chapter provides a conclusion

110 Smith 1986: 28–30.

111 Smith 1986: 29–30.

and synthesis of the results.

The contents of the chapters are as follows:

Chapter Two — The Concept of Ethnicity in Ancient Greek Texts

The chapter surveys terms for alterity and the labeling of cultural difference in ancient Greek texts (c. 800 – 323 BCE) and evaluates the dimensions of social identity represented in the corpus using an ethno-symbolic model of group identity. Since much of the anthropological literature on ethnicity draws from Greek source material, the chapter describes the connection between modern and ancient (Greek) terminology for social difference. The chapter also includes a brief sketch of the history of ancient Greece, to facilitate a clearer understanding of the quoted sources, and a short survey of social terms outlines the forms of prevalent identities in the ancient Greek language.

Chapter Three — The Concept of Ethnicity in the Hebrew Bible

The chapter surveys terms for alterity and the labeling of cultural difference in the Hebrew Bible (c. 1000 – 200 BCE) and evaluates the dimensions of social identity represented in the corpus using an ethno-symbolic model of group identity. It describes the deliberate formation of the Hebrew Bible, the editorial process involved, and how this makes the Hebrew texts both similar and different from the Greek corpus. The categorical identities "ethno-national" and "ethno-religious" are introduced and discussed, and a brief history of ancient Israel and the events of the bible provide background and context for the understanding of the quoted sources. The chapter also contains a survey of the social terms for kinship and difference representing the prevalent identity types in Biblical Hebrew.

Chapter Four — The Concept of Ethnicity in Middle Babylonian Texts

The third case study surveys terms for alterity and the labeling of cultural difference in Middle Babylonian and related texts from the late second millennium BCE Near East (c. 1500 – 1000 BCE). It evaluates the dimensions of social identity represented in the corpus using an ethno-symbolic model of group identity. The chapter includes a summary of the key studies of social identity in Ancient Near Eastern studies in order to illustrate why the incorporation of such evidence is possible and explain why such evidence has rarely been included in previous critical studies of identity. As with the previous case studies, a brief historical sketch of the Middle Babylonian period in Mesopotamia is provided, and the prevalent identities in the Akkadian language of the period is discussed. Many of the translated sources appearing in this chapter are appearing in English for the first time.

Chapter Five — Synthesis and Discussion

The chapter provides a comparative synthesis that integrates the results of the preceding chapters. It analyzes all of the markers of social difference comparatively and in some detail, and provides a typology of the results with references to the passages quoted in the case studies. The analysis indicates when and how it is accurate to describe ancient identities as "ethnic groups," and concludes with an outline of the historical development of the ancient perceptions of difference and comments on the possibilities for future research.

Chapter Two: The Concept of Ethnicity in Ancient Greek Texts

Introduction

The following chapter surveys the markers of alterity and social difference in ancient Greek texts and evaluates the dimensions of social identity expressed in the corpus using an ethno-symbolic model of group identity. The survey is the first of three case studies discussed in the dissertation, and the next two chapters undertake surveys of the visible markers in Biblical Hebrew texts and Middle Babylonian texts respectively.

The selection of Greek texts in the present study is a natural choice to begin our study of ancient conceptions of identity and difference since, as discussed in chapter one, the modern concept of the ethnic group (*ethnie*) relies, in part, in a cultural inheritance with its roots in ancient Greek. Scholars of ethnicity have referred to Greek texts in order to demonstrate the historicity of the concept, despite the relatively recent appearance of the term "ethnicity" in the 1950s, and the results of the following case study suggest the appropriateness of such associations.

The chapter begins by summarizing a genealogy of the concept of ethnic difference from ancient Greek to modern English in order to demonstrate the ties that link the cultural inheritance of the English speaking world to the civilizations of the ancient Mediterranean. Next, a brief historical sketch of ancient Greece follows to provide reference points and context for the subsequent textual discussion. Following the brief history, a survey of the prevalent forms of identity describes the specifically Greek notions of difference that are known lexicographically or have been features in modern Classical Studies, and then the discussion of

textual sources begins. For each ethno-symbolic marker type, a selection of sources are presented in translation, discussed, and briefly analyzed. Finally, the results of the entire survey are discussed in some detail to provide a synthesis of the results, and the chapter concludes with an assessment of the ethno-symbolic form of ethnicity visible in the ancient Greek texts.

From *Ethnos* to Ethnic

The term "ethnicity" first appeared in the 1950s in the English language.[112] Its inspiration was, unsurprisingly, an ancient Greek term, *ethnos*, in keeping with the long-standing tendency of English sociolinguistics to seek inspiration from Greek, Latin, or French models when a new word is needed to express a special idea. English, unlike French, does not have a noun immediately derived from the Greek *ethnos*. There is no English *ethnie*, and much of the confusion described in chapter one concerning the precise meaning of "ethnicity" is due to its status as a recent neologism.

The etymology of the Greek term *ethnos* and its linguistic descendants provides an interesting commentary on the problems that terms have had in delimiting human groups in the past as well as in the present. Some of the issues described in chapter one about the difficulties in mapping social differences could just as easily be applied to the terms from ancient Greece. In the earliest recorded uses, *ethnos* appeared in Homer's texts, not as a word for familiar groups of people sharing a culture, an origin, or a language, but rather to describe large, undifferentiated groups of either animals or warriors in a sense that might mean "throng" or "swarm" (e.g. Il. 2.87, 2.91, 4.59–69, 12.330).[113] Aeschylus described both the Furies

112 Hutchinson and Smith 1996: 4. See also "Ethnicity" in chapter one.

113 Tonkin, Chapman, and McDonald 1989:19; LSJ. s.v. "ἔθνος" (ethnos).

and the Persians each as an *ethnos* (Eumenides 366; Persians 43, 56), while Sophocles used the term for wild animals (Philoctetes 1145; Antigone 344).[114] Interestingly, Pindar used the term to describe groups of people who violated Greek norms of behavior (e.g. the husband-killing women of Lemnos, Pythian Odes 4.448), and Aristotle used it for foreign nations, as opposed to "Hellenes" (Politics 1324.b.10); yet Herodotus does not use the term *ethnos* in his iconic description of the Greeks at all (Hdt. 8.144 [VI.1 below]).[115]

The early Greek sense of the term *ethnos* could be translated into modern English as "tribe," for it has many of the connotations of "tribe" found in anthropological writings of the early twentieth century, especially the implication that a "tribe" is a primitive, or somehow inferior, community.[116] The Greek use usage often conveys aspects of animality, of illegitimate social organization, and general disorganization.[117] It was instrumental in the Greek expression of "otherness," and coexisted with the term *genos* in the expression of "us" and "them," which will be discussed below. In the later Greek of the New Testament, *ethnos* was used, as one might expect, to mean non-Christian and non-Jewish, in an attempt to render the Hebrew *goyim.*[118] By the period of Late Antiquity, the derived adjective *ethnikos* had become almost synonymous with *barbaros* "barbarian," with all its moral, social, and linguistic content.[119]

The term *ethnos* did not exist in isolation. It expressed meaning as part of a vocabulary of terms for social forms— terms that mutated and evolved over time. Many modern languages

114 Tonkin, Chapman, and McDonald 1989:19; LSJ. s.v. "ἔθνος" (ethnos).

115 Tonkin, Chapman, and McDonald 1989 20; LSJ. s.v. "ἔθνος" (ethnos).

116 See Jones 1997: 50–52 for a description and references for the use of "tribe" in Anthropology.

117 Tonkin, Chapman, and McDonald 1989: 20.

118 See chapter three for a discussion of the uses of *goyim* in the Hebrew Bible.

119 Tonkin, Chapman, and McDonald 1989: 20.

have derivatives from other words in this vocabulary, and some of the most important include: *genos* (Gk.), *gens* and *genus* (Lat.); *populus* (Lat.); *tribus* (Lat.); *natio* (Lat.); *polis* (Gk.); *barbaros* (Gk.) and *barbarus* (Lat.); *civis* and *civitas* (Lat.), among others.[120] The legacy of these words in English and modern Romance languages is rich and complex, and a study of them is beyond the scope of the present project, but the key theme to note is the manner in which boundaries are created by the use of such terms between inclusion and exclusion, good and bad, the familiar and the strange.

The direct successor to *ethnos* and its related terms was "gentile" *gentilis* (Lat.),[121] which is how *ethnos* was translated when rendered in the Vulgate version of the Bible.[122] In this way, "gentile" came to eclipse *ethnos* and the related Greek and Latin terms for other forms of social difference, and after the Reformation, it was "gentile" instead of "ethnic" that appeared in the English vernacular rendering of the Bible.[123] The term "ethnic," along with various derived forms, was often used as a synonym for "gentile" to denote "pagan" or "non-Christian" peoples, and it retained this sense until the nineteenth century. Some intellectuals used "ethnos" as a synonym for "nation" in the nineteenth century,[124] but it was the derived forms appearing as "ethnography," "ethnology," "ethnocentric," "ethnic," and "ethnicity," that the term found popularity, as we saw in chapter one. These modern ideas were linked to the idea of "race" in such a way that terms like "ethnology" basically meant "the study of a race." In such a linguistic environment, the simple noun "ethnos," in English, would have been a redundant

120 Tonkin, Chapman, and McDonald 1989: 20.

121 Like "gentile" in English, *gentilis* is an adjective form but could be used substantively as a noun or adjective.

122 Elcock 1960: 37.

123 Tonkin, Chapman, and McDonald 1989: 21.

124 Oxford English Dictionary s.v. "ethnos".

synonym for “race,” so the word was unnecessary and was not used.[125]

The famous French historian Ernest Lavisse declared in 1890 that “our history begins with the Greeks.”[126] While such a statement sounds awkward today, and every term in the phrase would reveal problems if scrutinized now, it points to the central theme of the etymology above. The modern terms for social concepts of difference in English have certainly inherited at least part of their conceptual and formal content from the vocabulary of social difference in ancient Greek. While the study of the social world of the ancient Mediterranean in general does not directly inform the essential content of modern social forms in today's America or Europe, it nevertheless provides important information about how particular types of forms arise and interact with each other over time. The role ancient Greece plays in the imagination of the American and European self encourages us to pursue a precise understanding of the terms of that ancient milieu, and the links between modern concepts and their ancient Greek predecessors provide an accessible gateway through which to begin our discussion of the social world of the ancient Mediterranean.

Historical Sketch

“Ancient Greece” refers to the society, culture, heritage, and achievements of the city-states of Athens, Sparta, and their allies throughout the first millennium BCE but especially during the so-called Classical Period, from 480 BCE to 323 BCE, the period from which most of the documentation and textual evidence derives. These city-states and their allies were primarily situated in coastal regions around the Aegean Sea, located in the northeastern quarter of the Mediterranean Sea; and all spoke various dialects of the ancient Greek language.

125 Tonkin, Chapman, and McDonald 1989: 21.

126 Detienne 2007, 7–10.

The English word "Greek" is derived from the Latin *Graeci*, which was the name by which the Romans referred to the people of the region.[127] The Greeks called themselves "Hellenes" and called their peninsular homeland "Hellas."[128]

According to the historiographic tradition of the ancient Greeks, their story begins with the heroic tales of the Mycenaean Bronze Age, and ends with the invasion of Greece by Alexander of Macedon. Although the vast majority of the ancient Greek documentary evidence comes from the Classical Period, some familiarity with the general outline of the Greek narrative, of history is required in order to understand many of the references contained in different Greek texts. The following historical sketch summarizes the key events of that narrative, emphasizing the role each played in the shape of the documents discussed in our analysis below.

Mycenaean Greece (c. 1600–1100 BCE)

During the course of the Middle Bronze Age (c. 2100–1600 BCE), the population of Greece rose, productivity increased, trade with the surrounding regions expanded, and the strengthening of economic and political power transformed warrior-chiefs in the region into monarchs.[129] Subsequently in the Late Bronze Age (c. 1600–1100 BCE), settlements in Greece became more prosperous, and society increasingly centered around large palace-complexes

127 Romans referred to the Greek colonists of Italy as *Graeci* and later extended this ascription to the whole of the Greek-speaking people, but debate surrounds the etymology and root of its Greek source, *Graikoi*. The earliest use of the Greek term is in Aristotle's *Meteorology* (1.14), where it is a prehistoric name for the Hellenes dwelling in the region around Dodona and Achelous (Epirus). The term is connected to the figure of Graikos, son of Pandora (II) and Zeus, and nephew of Hellen (Pseudo-Hesiod, Catalog of Women fr. 5). See Busolt 1893: 198–200 upheld in *OED Online* s.v. "Greek." Oxford University Press, March 2015. Web. 28 March 2015.

128 LSJ, s.v. "Ἑλλάς 5." (Hellas) and "Ἕλληνες II. 2." (Hellenes)

129 Pomeroy 2004: 22.

which became major sites such as Mycenae, Tiryns, Pylos, Thebes, and Athens.[130] Despite their cultural similarities, the various sites were never politically united, and each was home to a small, separate kingdom.

The conventional term for the Bronze Age culture of Greece is "Mycenaean" after the name of the archaeological site of Mycenae,[131] which Heinrich Schliemann excavated in one of the first modern archaeological excavations in 1876 CE. The site was celebrated by later Greeks as the home of king Agamemnon, who led the "Greek" armies in the Trojan War.

The material culture of the Mycenaeans borrowed elements from the earlier Minoan civilization of Crete, including the art of writing,[132] but other features appear completely unrelated to the Minoans, especially the construction of massive "Cyclopean" walls in the citadels of their palaces.[133] Notably, some of the frescoes and other pieces of art found inside the remains depict figures in a Minoan style but portray non-Minoan themes, such as images of hunting or warfare.[134] Although the later Greeks would emphasize the martial prowess of their Mycenaean predecessors, recent scholarship downplays this element and highlights the relative peace and prosperity brought about by an economy administered in large part by a palace bureaucracy.[135]

---

130 Pomeroy 2004: 25.

131 Parker 2014: 26.

132 Parker 2014: 26–7. Mycenaean writing, called Linear B, was an adaptation of the still undeciphered Minoan script, Linear A. Tablets in Linear B show clear evidence of being an early form of Greek, and many documents have been found in palace complexes throughout Greece, but the information they record is entirely economic and bureaucratic in nature. The limited size and range of its subject matter makes it unhelpful for the present study.

133 Pomeroy 2004: 25.

134 Pomeroy 2004: 25.

135 Parker 2014: 41–2; and Pomeroy 2004: 28–30, 33.

The characters, events, locations, and stories of the Mycenaean Greeks form the foundation of the symbolic repertoire from which the later Greeks would draw to imagine their culture. This process began with the oral tradition of epic and lyric poetry that started in this period and extended through the Dark Age into the Archaic Period; the form of the Iliad and Odyssey we recognize today is the final product of this tradition.[136] The heroes and adventures of this age were frequently revisited as sources of creative inspiration for the Classical Greeks and beyond.

The Trojan War (??)

Although the deeds and acts of many heroes were celebrated in poetry, it was the events of the Trojan War that became the most popular. In this epic cycle, history and war provided the backdrop for social dramas that remained relevant because of their universal and moral appeal. Paris, the son of King Priam of Troy in Asia Minor, seduced the beautiful Helen, wife of Menelaus, the ruler of the Spartans, and he took her back to Troy. To avenge the insult, Menelaus and his brother, Agamemnon, the *wanax* ("king") of Mycenae, gathered a huge army of Achaean (or "Greek") warriors, sailed to Troy, and destroyed the city after a ten-year siege. Afterward, each contingent returned to their homelands in their own ships, and many had additional adventures along the way—most famously Odysseus, whose journey to Ithaca required an additional ten years.

Archaeological research has cast serious doubts on the historicity of the Trojan War. Innumerable problems with the scale of the events, locations, and various details leave even the possibility of finding a kernel or fragment of historical truth difficult or impossible; so most

136 Parker 2014: 59; Adkins and Adkins 1995: 277.

Greek scholars today consider the event fictional.[137] Nonetheless, the fictional status of the Trojan War does not undermine its importance in the later Greek tradition. The importance of the Trojan War is not its status as a historical event, but rather its role as a touchstone in Greek culture.

The Dark Age (c. 1200–800 BCE)

All of the Mycenaean palaces burned to the ground or were destroyed between the thirteenth and twelfth centuries BCE, and the associated small kingdoms rapidly vanished along with them.[138] Scholars continue to debate the primary cause of these events, but the scale of the collapse is almost certainly linked to the widespread interdependence of the various societies of the eastern Mediterranean.[139] Every society in and around the eastern Mediterranean was significantly affected or destroyed, and the whole region slid into a period of economic and social decline that lasted centuries.

For our purposes, the Dark Age is notable for two reasons. First, new peoples began arriving in Greece once the wave of destruction ended, and this event became another recurring symbol in the later narrative of Greek identity. Second, the declines associated with the Dark Age meant that no texts were produced in Greece, or elsewhere in the Mediterranean, for some time.

The Dorian "Invasion" (c. 1000[?]– 900 BCE)

The idea of the Dorian Invasion is the iconic example of a population migration believed

137 Pomeroy 2004: 43–44; Parker 2014: 39, 43, 456.

138 Parker 2014: 46.

139 Cf. Pomeroy 2004: 34–5 and Parker 2014: 46–50; Recent treatments of the Late Bronze Age treat the subject in detail and conclude that, regardless of the primary cause, the breadth of the collapse and decline was a result of the breakdown of an entire international social system. See Van De Mieroop 2007: 235–251 and Cline 2014: 107–170.

to have occurred during the Dark Age of Greece.[140] The theory says that a group of "Dorian" Greek people invaded and settled the Peloponnese sometime during the tenth century BCE.[141] The designation is a modern appellation but finds its origin in the numerous references to Dorian sons of Heracles, "Heracleidai," who appear in variety of texts as invaders and settlers of the Peloponnese but who are described as coming from elsewhere (e.g. Thuc. 1.9.2, 1.12.3; Hdt. 1.56.3, 9.26–7, 6.52.1, etc.).[142] The idea initially seemed to find confirmation in evidence as different as archaeology, dialectic linguistics, and various social and political institutions, but after more than a century of criticism the idea is no longer seriously supported.[143] The Dorian Invasion never happened.

Yet by the Classical Period, when most of the documentation was written, the Dorians had spread throughout much of the Peloponnese and further afield, to places like South Italy, Sicily, Crete, northern Libya, and southwestern Asia Minor.[144] The "Invasion" tradition provided a meaningful background to the social and political circumstances of the period. It is important in our study, first as an iconic, albeit fictionalized, account of the types of migrations that did occur during the Dark Age, and second as an example of the types of difference that could distinguish sub-categories of people: in this case, the Dorians as a sub-category of Greeks.

140 Pomeroy 2004: 34; Parker 2014: 52–3.

141 See Hall 2002: 73–82 for a historiography of the topic and the evidence.

142 Hall 2002: 75.

143 Hall 2002: 82. He concludes that the literary tradition started as early as the 7th century BCE but that it did not, and did not intend, "to replicate faithfully the memory of the past."

144 Hall 2002: 73–4;

The Archaic Period (c. 900–480 BCE)

The population of Greece began to rise increasingly in the eighth and subsequent centuries.[145] The rapidly increasing population, limited amounts of arable land, and intensified contact with the other Mediterranean peoples transformed the character of Greek society and culture in significant ways. Modern scholars have named this period of Greek history the Archaic Period (c. 900–480 BCE), and while the details of the period are poorly understood due to a shortage of evidence compared to later periods, writing in the form of lyric poetry and scattered epigraphic finds, as well as archaeological excavations, have provided evidence that offers insights into the period.[146] Otherwise, the political history of the Archaic Period is mostly written using later historiographic documents.

Among the many events and changes to occur during the Archaic Period, three institutional developments influenced the later Greek descriptions of social identity. First and most significantly, by the end of the Archaic Period, an idea of Greek self-consciousness distinguished not only how Greek peoples were different from other non-Greek groups, but also how Greek peoples were similar to one another.[147] The term for this emerging consciousness is typically "Panhellinism," and it can be observed in numerous traditions, including the popularity of Homer's poetry and the Olympic games, among others.[148]

Another institution to emerge during the Archaic Period was the *polis* or "city-state" as a formal system of government. City-states were certainly not unique to Greece, but their

145 Pomeroy 2004: 61; Parker 2014: 67–9.

146 Hall 2012: 16–40.

147 See Hall 2012: 301–307 for a survey of when and by what mechanics this development seems to have occurred.

148 Hall 2012: 302; Pomeroy 2004: 58–9.

appearance in Greece in this period signaled a shift in the language of organization from kingdoms or "tribal-states" to one focusing specifically on the city.[149] An important process associated with the formation of a *polis* was "synoecism,"[150] a process in which two or more communities would join together to form a larger settlement, usually the foundation of a new city.[151] The historical reality of this process is difficult to investigate, and examples of the political process are exceedingly rare in the histories (only Thuc. 2.15.2), but the idea appears in the background behind the creation myths of many Greek city-states.[152] Most significantly for the purposes of our study, the creation of the *polis* introduced the idea of citizenship and linked the identities of people to one another through the symbol of the city.

The development of Panhellenism during the Archaic Period contributed to the establishment of a social boundary that defined what it meant to be or not be Greek. It, along with the linking of people through membership in a *polis*, prepared the matrix of social difference that we will observe in documents from the Classical Period.

The Classical Period (c. 480 BCE–323 BCE)

The Classical Period of ancient Greece (c. 480–323 BCE) traditionally begins with the Greek victory at the Battle of Marathon against the Persian Empire and ends with the death of Alexander "the Great" of Macedon.[153] The period roughly corresponds to the period of Athenian cultural dominance in Greece, and politically, it was the period when democracy first

149 See Parker 2014: 61–2, Pomeroy 2004: 61–2, and Hall 2012: 68–95 for discussion of the rise of the *Polis* and its various elements.

150 An English term derived from the Greek *syn-oik-ismos* "uniting the houses" (Pomeroy 2002: 62).

151 Parker 2014: 61; Pomeroy 2002: 62.

152 Hall 2012: 78–9.

153 Pomeroy 2004: 6; Rhodes 2006: 7.

appeared as the culmination of political developments that had begun in the Archaic Period.[154] It is perhaps best known for production of exceptional Greek works of literature,[155] philosophy,[156] drama,[157] and visual arts.[158] Significantly, this is the period from which nearly all of the Greek documentary sources come.[159]

The political events of the period are numerous, but awareness of most of them is not necessary to follow the symbols of identity discussed below. Briefly, in the decades after the Persian Wars, Sparta withdrew into the Peloponnese while Athens and its allies in the Delian League continued the fight against Persia but increasingly turned the League into an Athenian empire.[160] Greece thus became divided between the innovative democracy of Athens and the consciously conservative oligarchy of Sparta.[161] Unsurprisingly, the tension resulted in the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War between Athens and Sparta and their respective allies.[162] The war ended with a Spartan victory, but Athens and mainland Greece were never satisfied with conditions under Spartan hegemony and rebellions frequently broke out as Athens, and later Thebes, vied for supremacy.[163] Unexpectedly, it was the Macedonians in the far north who next emerged as the dominant power, and Alexander succeeded in unifying not only all of

154 Rhodes 2006: 7.

155 See Rhodes "Ch. 2: The Literary Sources" in Kinzl 2006: 26–44 for a recent survey and bibliography.

156 See Prince "Ch. 21: The Organization of Knowledge" in Kinzl 2006: 432–455 for a recent survey and bibliography.

157 Surveyed in Kinzl 2006: 36–40.

158 See Walter "Ch. 1: The Classical Age as a Historical Epoch" in Kinzl 2006: 1–25 for a bibliography and survey of highlights with a discussion of the role they play in the formation of the "Classical ideal."

159 Pomeroy 2004: 7.

160 Pomeroy 2004: 140–142; Parker 2014: 174–180; and discussed in detail in Rhodes 2006: 31–53.

161 Pomeroy 2004: 142–5; Parker 2014: 196–201; and discussed in detail in Rhodes 2006: 81–9.

162 Summarized in Pomeroy 2004: 200–223; and discussed in detail in Rhodes 2006: 81–171.

163 Summarized in Pomeroy 2004: 225–253; and discussed in detail in Rhodes 2006: 189–272.

Greece, but the Persian Empire as well, creating a political organization with a wholly different character and scale than the *polis*.[164] His death marks the traditional end of the Classical Period.

Afterward: The Hellenistic Period and Beyond (c. 323–30+ BCE)

Alexander died without naming an heir, and the Macedonian "Greek" empire broke apart upon his death.[165] For nearly fifty years the Macedonian generals fought one another trying to control the succession, but eventually the struggle ended as the empire divided into three kingdoms, each ruled by a different Macedonian dynasty.[166] For the next two centuries, Greek culture would heavily influence the ancient Mediterranean world in numerous, varied, and significant ways, and many of these elements would continue into the Middle Ages and beyond.

It was this tie to the Greek past that compelled an interest in ancient Greek texts and, thankfully, encouraged the copying of manuscripts in climates better suited to the preservation of papyrus (i.e. Egypt).[167] Most of the Greek texts available today exist only because of the copies made by Hellenistic and later cultures.[168]

Prevalent Identities

The ancient Greeks, as with all cultures in different times and places, had a diverse set of terms to label and describe different types of people, and connections between people, according to the perception of the speaker. These terms were situated in their own networks of

164 Summarized in Pomeroy 2004: 254–293; and discussed in detail in Rhodes 2006: 294–383.

165 Pomeroy 2004: 295.

166 Summarized in Pomeroy 2004: 294–325; and discussed in detail in Parker 2014: 319–428.

167 Pomeroy 2004 : 3.

168 Hall 2012: 22–3; and the process of copying and transmission is described in detail in Reynolds 2014.

meaning, which were products of the society and times in which they lived. Several major studies have surveyed the documentation from ancient Greece to analyze the various categories of social difference described in ancient Greek.[169] The following survey highlights the prevalent terms for identity types in ancient Greek texts.

Virtually all political identities known to political anthropology, regardless of culture, derive significance in varying degrees from the concepts of place and kinship.[170] To decide the connection is literal or fictive is analytically unnecessary, and indeed with large enough entities, the connection becomes metaphorical by necessity.[171] Often the two principles, place and kinship, have a political tension in a particular culture, and they often compete in the political sphere causing divided loyalties.[172] Ultimately, the specifics will be idiosyncratic to a particular culture, its history, and its social circumstances at a particular moment in time. In ancient Greece during the Classical Period, kinship identities included *ethnos* "nation," *genos* "race or family," and *phyle* "tribe or class," and place identities included a state-level *polis* "city-state" / *ethnos* "tribe-state" dichotomy in Greece, and a *hellene* "Greek" / *barbaros* "foreigner" boundary with the rest of the Mediterranean.

Kinship identities

Kinship identity types in ancient Greece were numerous and important, especially in the

169 See any of the following for recent work and bibliography: Hall 1997 discusses identities in ancient Greek with a focus on Greek sub-classifications such as Dorians and Ionians; Malkin 2001 discusses variously the internal and external perceptions of Greek identity; Hall 2002 is similar but tries to cover the entire, internal narrative within Greek sources; Isaac 2004 and 2009 focus especially on the perception of difference and its relationship to prejudice in Greek texts; Kennedy 2013 provides translations of many key texts, organized thematically.

170 See Eriksen 2004.

171 Eriksen 2004: 58–60.

172 Eriksen 2004: 58 upholding Gluckman [1956]1982.

political domain, and many of the histories rely upon them to make sense of the movement of large populations throughout the course of history. The following three are the most salient in the Greek documents.

In Greek, an *ethnos* encompasses a broader scope of meanings than the English "ethnic group" despite their etymological connection.[173] In Greek, the term could generally be defined as "population group" and was used variously to refer to the inhabitants of a city or region (e.g. "Athenians", Hdt. 7.161.3; "Atticans", Hdt. 1.57.3 [I.7 below]), whether Greek or foreign (e.g. "Libyan", I.10); or it could be used to describe a large class of beings who shared a common identification (e.g. "Scythian", I.3, I.5).[174]

A *genos* was similar to an *ethnos* and the terms were sometimes used interchangeably. The noun *genos* was related to the verb *gignesthai*, which meant "to be born, to come into being, to become."[175] Herodotus described it as the mechanism by which one's identity was inscribed i.e. birth (e.g. Hdt. 1.6.1 [I.18 below], 3.4.1, etc.), but the term could also describe any collective group in which membership was ascribed through birth.[176] The most obvious use was to describe specific families, such as the Athenian Alcmaeonids (Hdt. 5.62.2), but it could be applied to any category in which birth played a role.[177] Interestingly, both terms, *ethnos* and *genos*, were used by Herodotus to describe the inhabitants of Attica and the citizens of Athens since citizenship was gained automatically at birth (cf. *ethnos* Hdt. 1.57.3 [I.7], *genos* 5.91.1 [I.8]), and both terms applied to Greeks, *hellenes*, as well (cf. Hdt. *ethnos* 1.56.2 [I.6], *genos*

173 Hall 1997: 34.

174 McInerney 2001: 56; Hall 1997: 34–5.

175 Hall 1997: 35; LSJ s.v. "γίγνομαι" (gignesthai).

176 Hall 1997: 35; LSJ s.v. "γένος" (genos).

177 Hall 1997: 35; LSJ s.v. "γένος" (genos).

1.143.2).

Another important feature of the *genos*, regardless of size, was that it could divide into sub-branches like a family tree over time.[178] In this way, the citizens of different *poleis* could claim to belong to a single, common *genos*, as the Spartans, nearby Messenians and Argives, as well as the more distant Corfiots and Syracusans, could all claim to belong to the Dorian *genos*.[179]

Beneath both the *genos* and the *ethnos*, another category of identity that could be featured was the Greek concept of *phyle*, which is generally translated as "tribe" though this term has problems.[180] *Phylai* were supposedly large descent groups into which a city-state's community was divided.[181] Aeolians, Dorians, and Ionians were considered *phylai*, but so too were the three sub-groups into which Dorians were divided (Hylleis, Dymanes, and Pamphyli). Research has drastically revised the history and meaning of *phyle* in recent years.[182] For our purposes, the *phyle* serves as an important example of a way in which broad identities could be subdivided and organized hierarchically in Greek.

Place identities

Place identities in ancient Greece functioned on at least two axes. First on an organizational level, a distinction between the *polis* "city-state" and the *ethnos* "tribe-state" described the form of government a Greek state utilized, while the other axis operated at a supra-national, or civilizational level, distinguishing between the *hellene* "Greek" and the

178 Hall 1997: 36.

179 Hall 1997: 36.

180 Hall 1997: 9; LSJ s.v. "φῦλον" (phylon)

181 Pomeroy 2004: 337; Parker 2014: 451

182 Cf. Hall 1997: 9–14; and McInerney "Ethnos and Ethnicity in Early Greece" in Malkin 2001: 53–61.

barbaros “foreigner”.

A Greek state could take one of two forms according to the Greeks' own analysis.[183] The *polis* was a development of the Archaic Period and tended to be small state, focused on a urban center, with a people named after the city, and where all organs of the government tended to be located.[184] The term, *ethnos*, has already been discussed variously above, but it could also mean a “tribe-state” or “league-state” in political contexts where a form of government was indicated.[185] The form of the *ethnos* state was older than the Mycenaean kingdoms and tended to be large, containing several towns in its territory instead of a chief city, with territory named after the people, and where the broad administrative decisions tended to be made at an annual gathering or festival.[186] The primary form of a Greek's social identity was often dictated by one's association with a *polis* or *ethnos* of their home.

The other major axis of place identity in Greek texts from the Classical Period divided the *hellenes* “Greeks” from the *barbaroi* “foreigners.” Entire works have been written on the subject of each of these words,[187] but for our purposes a *hellene* may defined as a speaker of the Greek language, who is a presumptive descendant of the hero Hellen, and who some authors would describe as possessing a set of specific cultural traits. The barbarian is anyone else, and while initially it was a simple description of the language the others spoke, by the end of the Classical Period it had certainly evolved into a value judgment of alterity.[188] The barbarian had

183 Parker 2014: 62.

184 Parker 2014: 62.

185 LSF s.v. “"ἔθνος 2.” (ethnos 2.)

186 Parker 2014: 62.

187 See Hall 2002 on the development and content of “Hellenicity.” See Hall 2002: 172–188 on the emergence of the barbarian, and Isaac 2004 for a survey of stereotypes and markers of civilizational difference.

188 Pomeroy 2004: 332.

become the Other.[189]

Introduction to the Sources

The remainder of the chapter presents a selection of textual sources in translation, organized by ethno-symbolic marker type, in order to demonstrate the articulation of ethnic features in the ancient Greek corpus. Each selection is introduced, summarized, and analyzed in terms of the ethnic markers it contains.

All of the documents under consideration in the present study were written during the Classical Period of ancient Greece with the exception of Homer and Hesiod, whose texts were composed early in the Archaic Age as oral poems before they were written down. Their preservation and relevance in the Classical Period make it appropriate to include them in the corpus under consideration in our study.

Translations are adapted from Kennedy et al. 2013 unless otherwise indicated.

189 Tonkin, Chapman, and McDonald, 1989:19;

Map 1: The worldview in Ancient Greek texts

Sources I: Ethnonyms

Ancient Greek texts contain innumerable proper names (ethnonyms) for many different identity types, including ethno-national terms such as Greek, Egyptian, or Persian, as well as a variety of sub-classifications, such as Ionian, Dorian, Aeolian, and Achaean.[190] Ethnonyms appear in a variety of grammatical forms and contexts, and they are an almost ubiquitous feature of historical texts.

Greek ethnonyms typically appear in gentilic forms, but genealogical (descendant of) names are also frequent:

> **I.1 (Thuc. 1.12):** [1] Since even after the Trojan War, Hellas was still in a process of upheaval and settlement, there was naturally no peaceful growth. [2] The slow return of the *Greeks* [Hellenes] from Troy caused many revolutions, and there were frequent factional quarrels within communities, which led to exiles founding new cities. [3] The *Boeotians*, for example, were driven out of Arne by the *Thessalians* in the sixtieth year after the sack of Troy. They settled the present Boeotia, the land formerly called Cadmei's (there were formerly some *Boeotians* in the land, who made up part of the expedition to Troy). On the eightieth year after the war, the *Dorians* took the Peloponnese with the *Heracleidai*. [4] It took a considerable amount of time for Hellas to become secure and tranquil, and only then did she begin to send out colonies. The *Athenians* settled *Ionia* and most of the islands; the *Peloponnesians*, the majority of Italy and Sicily and some lands in the rest of Hellas. All these places were founded later than the Trojan War. (RECW 2.3)

As part of Thucydides's introduction to the background of the Peloponnesian War, he is describing various peoples and the lands with which they are associated. This passage clearly shows the relationship between the gentilic form of names and geographic names (e.g. "Boeotians" and "Boeotia"). In addition, it features an iconic example of two common geneaological names: *Hellenes* "sons of Hellen" and the *Heracleidai* "sons of Heracles." The Heracleidai are typically associated with the Dorian Invasion.

190 See chapter three for discussion of "ethno-national" terms.

The names of people show a clear relationship with the names of the lands themselves. The two forms can sometimes be used interchangeably:

> **I.2 (Ody. 4.77–89):** I [Menelaus] roamed to Cyprus and Phoenicia and to the *Egyptians*; I reached the *Ethiopians* and the *Sidonians* and the *Erembi* and Libya, where the lambs grow a full set of horns quickly. The ewes there bear lambs three separate times in a full year. There neither lord nor shepherd lacks cheese or meat or sweet milk, but always the ewes give enough milk to drink. (RECW 1.2)

Menelaus is relating stories of his travels through the (Mediterranean) world to Telemachus. As he does so, he switches interchangeably between lands and people as if they function the same way geographically. Cyprus has a location; Egyptians have a location. The map of the world could be described by means of peoples.

People names can appear as nouns or adjectives:

> **I.3 (Hippocratic Corpus, On Airs, Waters, Places 18–23):** 18. Concerning the physiques of other *Scythians* and how they are similar to others or not, the same principle applies to them as to *Egyptians*, though *Egyptians* are afflicted by heat, while the *Scythians* are afflicted by cold. […] 19 Those are their customs and lifestyles. The climate and physiques of the peoples of Scythia are very different from those of other people and, like the *Egyptians*, are very uniform among themselves with very little diversity. [...] 20 I will present an obvious proof of their bloatedness. You will find that the majority of the *Scythian* Nomads had their shoulders, arms, wrists, breasts, hips, and loins cauterized for no other reason than their soft and bloated nature… Also, the *Scythian* race is red-headed and red-faced, though not because of the sun's fierce heat. The cold burns their faces and turns them red. […] 21 Furthermore, the constant bouncing on horseback has rendered *Scythian* men unfit for sex. This is why the men are infertile. [...] 22 Additionally, the majority of *Scythian* men become impotent and do women's work, live as women, and converse like women. Such men are called the *Anares*, the non-men. [...] 23 This is how the *Scythian* race lives. The other races of Europe differ among themselves in stature and physique on account of

changes in the seasons, which are dramatic and frequent. (RECW 3.1)

The Hippocratic Corpus is a text designed as a handbook for physicians, and demonstrates the environmental theory that various climates influence the physiques, facial features, and even characters of people living in different places. The names in this passage appear as both nouns and adjectives.

Foreign and exotic identities may have names without clear grammatical roots or purely descriptive names:

> **I.4 (Aeschylus, Suppliants 280):** [King Pelasgus] You are dark like a Cypriot coin, hammered into a female-shaped mould by male craftsmen. I hear that there are nomadic women of India, dwelling beside the Ethiopians, who ride horse-like camels through the land. If you held bows, I would have compared your appearance rather to the unwed, flesh-eating *Amazons*. But I would better understand this situation if I were instructed how your descent and seed are Argive. (RECW 5.1)

In Aeschylus's play, King Pelasgus is speaking to the chorus who plays the role of the Danaids, the fifty daughters of Danaeus who were forced to marry their Egyptian cousins but have escaped and returned to Greece. The king describes them as dark, like *Amazons*, a mythological society of warrior women who were believed to have dwelt in Central Asia. The name has no clear etymology and may have been a Persian word.

> **I.5 (Hippocratic Corpus, On Airs, Waters, Places 14):** I will leave out discussion of those peoples who differ from us minimally and will describe instead those peoples who are very different physically and culturally. Let's begin with the *Macrocephalai*, or "Longheads". Their heads are unlike those of any other people. At first, they had long heads through custom, but now it is a combination of custom and nature. The *Macrocephalai* believe that the longest head is the most beautiful. Their custom concerning this is as follows: whenever a child is born, immediately while the head is still pliant, they use their hands to reshape the head to make it longer and then apply bandages and other

> appropriate "shapers" to aid in the process. The roundness of the head is thus destroyed and the length increased. Custom worked in the beginning in such a way that it forced nature to follow suit. As time went on, nature itself took over so that custom was no longer needed since one's "stock" comes from every part of the body: healthy stock from the healthy parts and diseased stock from diseased parts. If, then, bald children come from bald parents and grey-eyed children come from grey-eyed parents and deformed children from deformed parents, and so on, would this not be the case with other physical characteristics? What prevents a long-headed child being born from a long-headed parent? Nevertheless, having a long head is now less common than before, since marriages outside of the community are no longer restricted by custom. (RECW 3.1)

This passage continues part of the Hippocratic Corpus above. The text describes group of people with large heads as *Macrocephalai*, a word that means "large heads." Descriptive names such as this are uncommon and generally appear in accounts of very peripheral peoples and exotic places.

At times, groups appear to be organized into a social hierarchy:

> **I.6 (Hdt. 1.56.2):** Doing some research, Croesus discovered that the Athenians and the Lacedaemonians were preeminent among the Greeks [Hellenes]. The Lacedaemonians were preeminent among the Dorian race [*genos*], the Athenians among the Ionian [*genos*]. They were the foremost peoples in antiquity as well—the Athenians among the Pelasgian peoples [*ethnos*], the Lacedaemonians among the Hellenes [*ethnos*]. The Pelasgian Athenians had never moved anywhere, but the Dorian Lacedaemonians wandered a great deal. (RECW 5.3)

Herodotus is describing Athenians, Spartans (*Lacedaemonians*), and their relationship to different Greek sub-categories. In the description, Dorian and Ionian *gene* are subordinated to Pelasgian and Hellenic *ethne*. On the one hand it would seem that individuals could possess multiple identities by belonging to both a *genos* and an *ethnos*; so a person could be both Spartan and Greek, or Athenian and Greek.

On the other hand, the name for a single group can be described as both a *genos* and an *ethnos* by the same author:

> **I.7 (Hdt. 1.57.3):** And so, if the Pelasgian language was common here and the Athenians [Attic *ethnos*] were once Pelasgian, then it seems clear that they changed their language at the same time as they became Hellenes. For indeed neither the Crestians nor the Placians, who share a common tongue, were in any way similar to their neighbors. Their language, which they brought with them when they moved from one land to another, they have preserved distinctly. It is the same language as they have used continually from their origins. (RECW 5.3)

> **I.8 (Hdt. 5.91.1):** Now the Lacedaemonians, when they regained the oracles and saw the Athenians increasing in power and in no way inclined to obey them, realized that if the Athenians [Attic *genos*] remained free, they would be equal in power with themselves, but that if they were held down under tyranny, they would be weak and ready to serve a master. Perceiving all this, they sent to bring Pisistratus' son Hippias from Sigeum on the Hellespont, the Pisistratidae's place of refuge.[191]

In I.7, Herodotus continues the passage of I.6 above. He focuses on language as a marker of identity to investigate the connections between various Greek sub-groups. In I.8, Herodotus is narrating a the political events of more recent history. In both passages the Athenians are described collectively, but in the first they are an *ethnos*, and in the second they are an *genos*, despite the fact that both passages were written by the same author. This suggests that the two terms were roughly synonymous. They could be hierarchical when placed in contexts of direct contrast (I.6), but otherwise the shades of meaning could be fluid enough to be functionally synonymous.

Turning from the abstract to the particular, the next seven excerpts highlight the key

191 Godley 1920.

ethno-national terms in the Greek corpus:

Egyptians:

> **I.9 (Hdt. 2.2):** The Egyptians, before Psammetichus became their king, thought that they were the oldest of all men. But once Psammetichus was king, he wanted to know who the first people were. As a result of his inquiry, the Egyptians think that the Phrygians are older than they are and that after the Phrygians they are older than everyone else. (RECW 7.1)

The Egyptians were was the ancient people of the Nile, located in the northeastern corner of Africa. Their civilization was ancient compared to the most ancient elements of Greece, and their history and culture was a popular topic of Greek texts.

Libyans:

> **I.10 (Hdt. 4.168):** The Libyans live according to these customs. Starting from Egypt, the first Libyans you meet to the west are the Adurmachidae, who practice mostly Egyptian customs but wear clothes similar to other Libyans. Their women wear bronze anklets around each leg and grow their hair long. Whenever one catches lice, she bites it and throws it away. (RECW 8.1)

Libya was the Greek name for Africa and was thought to extend only to the Sahara desert. The Libyans were the people who lived west of Egypt in Africa.

Ethiopians:

> **I.11 (Pseudo-Scylax, Periplous 112.8):** There are Ethiopians toward the mainland, and the Phoenicians sell their goods to them. They exchange goods in return for the skins of deer lions, and leopards, as well as elephant skins and tusks, and the hides of cattle. (RECW 9.3)

Ethiopia (*aethiopia*) was the Greek name for the region of the Upper Nile and Subsaharan Africa. It was a peripheral region at the end of the world, and the Ethiopians were an exotic subject for Greek writers.

Persians (includes Medians):

> **I.12 (Hdt. 1.4.1–4):** [1] Up to this point, there was only the snatching of women from one another, but for what came next the Greeks were greatly responsible. For they were the first to start a war by sending an army into Asia, not the Asians into Europe. [2] Now, to steal a woman is considered by the Persians the act of an unjust man, but to take the trouble of avenging it after she has already been abducted is unreasonable. Clearly, the women would not have been kidnapped if they didn't want to be. [3] Indeed, the Persians say that Asians do not take account of women who are snatched in this way, but the Greeks gathered a great army and marched it into Asia and destroyed Priam's power for the sake of a Spartan woman. [4] After this, they always considered the Greeks their enemies. For the Persians believe that they own Asia and the barbarian peoples who live there, while they view Europe and all things Greek as separate. (RECW 10.2)

The great empires of the East were a popular subject for Greek writers, and the Persians were a recurring topic because of their role in the Persian Wars and the initiation of the Classical Period in Greece. Despite the two regions' antagonistic politics, the two cultures did share many features, and treatments of the Persians ranged greatly from inquisitive studies to political rants featuring a barbarian Other.

Babylonians (includes Assyrians):

> **I.13 (Hdt. 1.192.1–2):** I will now show the various manifestations of wealth and power of the Babylonians, though I will start with one in particular: All the land ruled by the Great King is divvied up among himself and his army (this is in addition to the tribute). For four out of the twelve months of the year, the territory of Babylon feeds the king. He is fed off of the rest of Asia for the remaining eight months. [2] Thus Assyria accounts for a full third of the wealth of Asia. (RECW 10.6)

The size and antiquity of Babylon, which was considered part of Assyria, interested Greek writers as a foreign and wondrous place. Greek texts frequently confuse the cultures and peoples of Babylonia and Persia.

Phoenicians and Arabians:

> **I.14 (Hdt. 3.107.1-2):** [1] Again, Arabia is the furthest south of the inhabited

> lands, and in this land alone are frankincense, myrrh, cassia, cinnamon, and gum-mastic. All of these except myrrh, the Arabians obtain with some difficulty. [2] They gather frankincense by burning storax, which the Phoenicians export to Greece. (RECW 12.1)

The Phoenician city-states were located at the edges of both Greek and Persian spheres of influence, and Phoenicians play a periodic role in the narratives of Greek writers. They typically acted as traders and neighbors, and Greek mythology credits Phoenician culture for some features of Greek culture, especially the art of writing. See I.11, above, for another reference to Phoenicians.

Arabia was a place of frequent trade, but most Greek writers relied on Persian and Egyptian sources in order to describe the Arabians, who were typically exotic traders who lived far away.

Indians:

> **I.15 (Hdt. 3.98.1–3):** [1] The Indians obtain a large amount of gold, from which they provide the previously mentioned gold dust to the king, in the following manner. [2] There is sand to the east of Indian territory, for of all of the peoples of whom we have knowledge who dwell in Asia (even those of whom something accurate is reported), the Indians are closest to the dawn and the rising sun. Thus, to the east of India is a land made desolate by sand. [3] There are many tribes of Indians, and none of them speak the same language. Some are nomads, others are not. Some live in marshes on the river and eat raw fish, which they catch, working from reed boats. Each boat is made from a single reed joint. (RECW 13.1)

India was known to Greek writers of the Classical Period, but it was a very distant, exotic place. Indians were marvelous, strange people who were often considered similar to the Ethiopians.

Scythians:

For Scythians, see I.3 above.

The Scythians were were a real people that dwelled around the Black Sea region and beyond to the east, but Greek descriptions of them were largely fantastical and elevated them to the position of a kind of Noble Savage.

Greeks [*Hellenes*]:

> **I.16 (Plato, Laws 3.692e-693a):** Athenian: Should someone say that Greece [*Hellas*] defended itself during the Persian Wars, they would be speaking incorrectly. For if the intention of the Athenians and the Spartans in common had not been to ward off the oncoming slavery, then indeed all the races [*genos*] of the Greeks [*Hellenes*] would be mixed up with each other now. And barbarians would have mingled with Greeks and Greeks with barbarians, just as the Persians rule over people now who are dispersed or gathered together and live unhappily. (RECW 4.10)

The Greeks were "us" in most Greek writing. See VI.1 below for an iconic description of Greek culture.

Finally, the traditional Greek *phylai*: Ionians, Dorians, Aeolians, and Achaeans:

> **I.17 (Euripides, Ion 1569-1594):** Then in due course of time the children of these four [children of Ion] will found communities on the islands of the Cyclades and the coastal mainland, whose might will support my land. They will also colonize opposite sides of the straits on the two continents, Asia and Europe. They will be named *Ionians*, after your son here, and they will win great renown. You and Xuthus will have children together: Dorus, whose descendants, the *Dorians*, will be celebrated throughout the land of Pelops. The second son, Achaeus, will be king of the coastland near Rhion, and a people named after him will be marked with his name. (RECW 4.4)

> **I.18 (Hdt. 1.6.1-3):** [1] Croesus was a Lydian by birth, son of Alyattes, and sovereign of all the nations west of the river Halys, which flows from the south between Syria and Paphlagonia and empties into the sea called Euxine. [2] This Croesus was the first foreigner whom we know who subjugated some Greeks and took tribute from them, and won the friendship of others: the former being the *Ionians*, the *Aeolians*, and the *Dorians* of Asia, and the latter the Lacedaemonians. [3] Before the reign of Croesus, all Greeks were free: for the Cimmerian host which invaded Ionia before his time did not subjugate the cities,

but raided and robbed them.[192]

Sources II: Ethnic ancestor myths

Ancestor myths are a common motif in ancient Greek literature. As we saw in Sources I, genealogical names were a relatively common method of describing groups of people so, unsurprisingly, full stories providing details about the lives of the heroic ancestors were also known.

The myths of origins and genealogical studies are relatively popular subjects of study in Classical Studies. The following excerpts represent just three notable examples.[193]

A typical story of how such ancestor myths remained current appears in Herodotus when the Persian King Xerxes attempts to use mythological genealogies to convince the Argives to stay neutral in his conquest of Greece:

> **II.1 (Hdt. 7.150.1–2):** This is how the Argives tell the story, but there is another story told throughout Greece that Xerxes sent a herald into Argos before he set his army in motion against Greece. When the herald arrived, it is said that he told the Argives, "Argives, King Xerxes says this to you: We believe that Perses, our ancestor, was the child of Perseus son of Danae and Andromeda daughter of Cepheus. Thus we Persians are your descendants. We think it inappropriate to send an army against our progenitors, and that you give aid to others and become our enemy Rather, it is fitting that you keep to yourselves. If everything goes as intended, I will esteem no one higher than you." (RECW 2.2)

The relationship between names and peoples is obvious in such a passage. The words Perses, Perseus, and Persian all sound similar and the logic of the narrative posits that they could be connected in some way as a result of similarity. Similar logic was used in other genealogies,

192 Godley 1920.

193 See Hall 2002: 56–89 for a survey of the issues and problems with investigating the myths of origins and recent bibliography.

but this one is a bit far fetched. The character of Perses is unknown outside the context of this story and was probably invented in the diplomatic encounters between Persia and the Argives.

As for the Greeks, the eponymous founder of the Hellenes was said to be Hellen, son of Deucalion. The earliest description of the story was found in Pseudo-Hesiod's Catalog of Women:

> **II.2 (Pseudo-Hesiod, Catalog of Women Fragment 4)**: And from Hellen the war-loving king sprang Dorus and Xuthus and Aeolus delighting in horses. And the sons of Aeolus, kings dealing justice, were Cretheus, and Athamas, and clever Sisyphus, and wicked Salmoneus and overbold Perieres.[194]
>
> **II.3 (Pseudo-Hesiod, Catalog of Women Fragment 19):** Zeus saw Europa the daughter of Phoenix gathering flowers in a meadow with some nymphs and fell in love with her. So he came down and changed himself into a bull and breathed from his mouth a crocus. In this way he deceived Europa, carried her off and crossed the sea to Crete where he had intercourse with her. Then in this condition he made her live with Asterion the king of the Cretans. There she conceived and bore three sons, Minos, Sarpedon and Rhadamanthys. The tale is in Hesiod and Bacchylides.[195]

The Catalog of Women is a lost text, and the fragments available to us are only known through quotations appearing in later texts. Nonetheless, the sentences presented here are among the few complete quotations known from the work. In addition to providing the earliest description of the descendants of Hellen, II.2 is interesting because of how specific attributes are associated with the different characters. Since these are symbolic representations of living peoples in later Greece to the audiences, statements like “war-loving” or “delighting in horses” become political statements about the politics and culture of the time in which the poem was composed. The text is implying that the Dorians enjoy war and the Aeolians prefer horses.

194 Evelyn-White 1936.

195 Evelyn-White 1936.

The other passage from the Catalog (II.3) shows the character of Europa, whose name became associated with the continent of Europe in later periods. Of particular interest is the fact that she is described as a daughter of Phoenix, who was the eponymous ancestor of the Phoenicians. A reference such as this suggests that, in at least one surviving mythological tradition, Europeans were understood to be the descendants of the Phoenicians.

Thucydides investigates the story of Hellen further:

> **II.4 (Thuc. 1.3.1–4)**: [1] The fact that the weakness of the ancients was not minor is proved to me by the following consideration. Before the Trojan War it is obvious that Hellas engaged in no common action. [2] I am inclined to think there was no universal name as yet. But before Hellen, son of Deucalion, this name did not exist at all; instead, each group took its own name, and the name Pelasgian was general.11 After Hellen and his children came to power at Phthiotis in Thessaly, they brought aid to the rest of the cities and through this connection more and more began to be called Hellenes. It took some time, however, for this name to win out for all. [3] Homer provides the best evidence: though himself living much later than the Trojan War, he in no way gives this name to all. None are Hellenes except those who came with Achilles from Phthiotis, and they were the first so called. Instead, he uses in his poems the names Danaans and Argives and Achaeans. Homer, in fact, does not mention barbarians because, I am inclined to think, the Hellenes had not yet been brought under a single name in opposition to barbarians. [4] And so those people, as each of them came together city by city and later all became known as Hellenes, did nothing together as a group before the Trojan War because of their weakness and lack of interaction. However, even this common expedition against Troy was only made by way of the sea. (RECW 2.3)

Thucydides marks the beginning of his introduction to the Peloponnesian War with this story. Unsurprisingly, he begins the story of the great war of the Greek people with the story of the eponymous ancestor, but he questions the validity of the story and offers a historical critique of the story. This passage shows that while the ancestral myths were recognized, they were not sacred or inviolable.

Sources III: Ethnic histories

Accounts of shared historical memories are innumerable in the various historical works of ancient Greece. Both Herodotus's and Thucydides's offer descriptions of "historical" stories that happened to specific groups of people, and Herodotus especially provides examples of accounts by both insiders ("it happened to us") and outsiders ("it happened to them").

Thucydides provides a historical account of the early history of the Greek people. It differs from mythology in the scale and scope of the events being described:

> **III.1 (Thuc. 1.2–12)** [1] It is obvious that the land now called Hellas was long ago without fixed settlements; instead the people were migratory at first, and each group easily left their own land whenever they were under compulsion by more numerous people. [...]
>
> 1.5. [1] Long ago the Hellenes and those barbarians who lived on the coast and on islands, as soon as they began to have contact with each other through ships, turned to piracy. [...] They even ransacked each other by land. Much of Greece (the Ozolian Locrians, the Aetolians, the Acarnians, and the same area of the mainland) even now lives in this old fashion and still retains the habit of wearing weapons because of this ancient practice of piracy. [...]
>
> 1.6. All of Hellas used to wear arms because their homes were without protection and their interactions with each other were unsafe. They led their life in arms just like the barbarians. [2] These areas of Hellas still living in this way indicate that the way of life then was once similar for all. [3] The Athenians were the first both to set aside their weapons and to turn to a more luxurious and looser manner of living. The older men of the wealthy class only recently ceased to wear the luxurious linen tunics and to tie up their hair in knots and hold it in place with a golden fastener in the shape of a grasshopper. The custom of the type of adornment long practiced among older generations in Ionia comes from a shared kinship with Athens. [4] The Spartans, on the other hand, were the first to wear a moderate and modern style of dress, and those with greater wealth undertook in every other way to lead a lifestyle like the majority. [...]
>
> 1.8. No less piratical were the islanders, both the Carians and Phoenicians. In point of fact they inhabited the majority of the islands. [...] [2] After Minos had

> established his navy nautical communication became easier (this is because the malefactors were uprooted from the islands by Minos at the same time as he settled many of them). [3] The coastal peoples were already applying themselves more to the acquisition of wealth and thus lived more securely. Some even constructed walls around their communities since they had become wealthier. Weaker people, since they desire profit, endure slavery to the stronger, and the more powerful men, since they have a surplus of wealth, subjugate lesser communities. [4] In this way, somewhat later in time, they went to war against Troy. [...]
>
> 1.12. Since even after the Trojan War, Hellas was still in a process of upheaval and settlement, there was naturally no peaceful growth. [2] The slow return of the Greeks from Troy caused many revolutions, and there were frequent factional quarrels within communities, which led to exiles founding new cities. [continues in I.1 above.] (RECW 2.3)

The links III.1 draws between historical events and the practices of specific groups of people are interesting. Thucydides is speaking as an Athenian when he describes the groups, and the text defines a kind of cultural proximity when different practices are mentioned. He says, "the way of life then was once similar for all" (1.5.2) meaning all "*of us*." He goes on to describe the progressive civilizing of Athens and the conscious conservatism of Sparta (1.5.3). He describes how Athenians and Ionians are related (1.5.3). He describes the pervasiveness of piracy among all the coastal Mediterranean peoples (1.5.4) and the slow process of recovery from the Dark Age (1.12); these were not fictionalized stories meant to establish or maintain symbolic links between allies as Xerxes tried (II.1). This is an account of the shared historical memories of a particular social community.

Herodotus tries on multiple occasions to provide an insiders account of non-Greek populations in his studies. The next passage is the beginning of Herodotus's History and focuses on the Persian account of historical events, in frequent contrast to the Greek or

Athenian perspective.

> **III.2 (Hdt 1.1.1–4)** The Persian writers say that the Phoenicians are the cause of the disagreement. They came from the Red Sea to the Aegean. After settling there (where they still live today), they set out on great sea voyages carrying cargo from Egypt and Assyria and other lands, and they transported it to Argos. [2] At that time, Argos was preeminent in the land now called Hellas [Greece]. When the Phoenicians arrived, they set out their merchandise. [3] On the fifth or sixth day, when nearly everything had been traded jvvay, a group of women including the king's daughter came to the sea shore. According to the Greeks, Io was the daughter of Inachos. [4] As the women stood at the stern of the ship, looking eagerly at the merchandise, the Phoenicians yelled out and rushed at them. The majority of the women escaped, but Io and some others were captured. The traders then boarded the ship and set sail for Egypt.
>
> 1.2. This is how the Persians (though not the Greeks) say Io arrived in Egypt, and this was the first injustice between Greeks and barbarians. After this, some Greeks (they didn't specify which Greeks) landed in Tyre and kidnapped Europa, daughter of the king of Phoenicia. They may have been Cretans. This was considered an equal exchange for Io. [2] After this, the Greeks were then responsible for a second injustice, for they sailed a large ship up the Phasis River to Aia in Colchis. Having accomplished what they had come to do, they then seized Medea, daughter of the king. [3] The king of Colchis sent a messenger into Greece to seek reparations for the crime and to reclaim his daughter. The Greeks replied that the Phoenicians had not returned Io to Argos or paid reparations so they were not going to do it for Medea.
>
> 1.3. In the second generation after these events, Alexander [=Paris], son of Priam, heard these tales and determined to steal a wife for himself from Greece and figured there would be no penalty since no one else had been punished previously. [2] Thus, after he stole Helen, the initial response of the Greeks was to send messengers requesting Helen's return and compensation for her kidnapping. The Trojans, however, threw these requests back at them, citing the snatching of Medea and asked how they could expect such reparations when they themselves had refused to pay compensation or return Medea when asked.
>
> 1.4. Up to this point, there was only the snatching of women from one another, but for what came next the Greeks were greatly responsible. For they were the first to start a war by sending an army into Asia, not the Asians into Europe. [...]
>
> 1.5. This is what the Persians say happened, and they consider the sack of Troy the origin of their enmity with the Greeks. […] (RECW 10.2)

Although the events of the passage deal with the distant past rather than recent history—the

abduction of Europa is the same story as appears in II.3—the way in which Herodotus treats the narrator's perspective is both novel and important. In narratives like this, Herodotus's writing describes an account of history from the perspective of different peoples affected by the events, and in this way, Greek audiences could be exposed to a narrative of events as it happened to them or as it could be perceived by others. This demarcation shows the collective ownership that particular groups have over the authorization of history. In passages like this, Herodotus shows the operation of collectively shared historical memories, often from multiple perspectives.

Sources IV: Ethnic cultural elements

Greek texts often describe cultural elements in detail in order to characterize, define, separate, and ally different social identities and communities with one another. We have already seen an example in the description of the Scythian customs (I.3) above. The following selections survey a sample of cultural elements that could mark ethnic difference in Greek texts.

Costume and dress could be cultural markers:

> **IV.1 (Hdt 5.87.3 – 88.1):** [3] This is how this man met his end, and the Athenians found the action of their women to be more dreadful than their own misfortune. They could find, it is said, no other way to punish the women than changing their dress to the Ionian fashion. Until then the Athenian women had worn Dorian dress, which is very like the Corinthian. It was changed, therefore, to the linen tunic, so that they might have no brooch-pins to use. [1] The truth of the matter, however, is that this form of dress is not in its origin Ionian, but Carian, for in ancient times all women in Greece wore the costume now known as Dorian.[196]

196 Godley 1920.

Herodotus describes the reason why contemporary Athenian women dress in the Ionian style today, without brooch-pins, instead of the Dorian style among their neighbors.

> **IV.2 (Aeschylus, Persians 182-189):** [Atossa] I dreamed that two women in beautiful clothes, one in Persian garb, the other in Dorian attire, appeared before my eyes; both far more striking in stature than are the women of our time, [185] flawless in beauty, sisters of the same family. As for the lands in which they dwelt, to one had been assigned by lot the land of Hellas, to the other that of the barbarians.[197]

Atossa, the Achaemenid queen mother of king Xerxes, sees two women in recognizably different clothes in a dream. Styles of dress could clearly be associated with one culture or another, and in this case she sees a Persian and a Dorian Greek costume. The final line is also interesting because she specifically links these cultures with geography.

Festivals could be an important and active marker of identity and culture:

Festivals, such as the Dionysia of Athens had cultural significance:

> **IV.3 (Thuc. 2.15.4):** This is shown by the fact that the temples the other deities, besides that of Athena, are in the citadel; and even those that are outside it are mostly situated in this quarter of the city, as that of the Olympian Zeus, of the Pythian Apollo, of Earth, and of Dionysus in the Marshes, the same in whose honor the older Dionysia are to this day celebrated in the month of Anthesterion not only by the Athenians but also by their Ionian descendants.[198]

Thucydides explains that, not only is the Dionysia festival associated with Athens, but Ionians outside Athens were also known to celebrate the custom. It thus became a marker of Ionian identity.

Herodotus says something similar:

197 Smyth 1926.

198 Crawley 1910.

> **IV.4 (Hdt. 1.147.2):** [...] and all are Ionians who are of Athenian descent and keep the feast Apaturia. All do keep it, except the men of Ephesus and Colophon; these are the only Ionians who do not keep it, and these because, they say, of a certain pretext of murder.[199]

The Apatura was another Ionian festival, according to Herodotus, who says that it was celebrated by Athenians and most Ionian cities. The festival is thought to have lasted three days, and at its conclusion, newly mature youths were formally admitted as members into the *phratria* "clan," one of the political sub-categories nested inside a *phyle* "tribe."

Language is often an important cultural marker of identity:

Thucydides describes the dialectic features of a Greek colony in Sicily:

> **IV.5 (Thuc. 6.5.1):** Himera was founded from Zancle by Euclides, Simus, and Sacon, most of those who went to the colony being Chalcidians; though they were joined by some exiles from Syracuse, defeated in a civil war, called the Myletidae. The language was a mixture of Chalcidian and Doric, but the institutions which prevailed were the Chalcidian.[200]

The historian includes language in the list of cultural institutions that were expressive of cultural inheritance. In this case, he is pointing out that despite the linguistic blending of Chalcidian (of Chalcis) and Dorian dialects, the Chalcidian (political and social) institutions dominated in the end.

In another passage, he describes a traveler's efforts to fit into Persia:

> **IV.6 (Thuc. 1.138):** It is said that the king approved his [Themistocles] intention, and told him to do as he said. He employed the interval in making

199 Godley 1920.

200 Crawley 1910.

> what progress he could in the study of the Persian tongue, and of the customs of the country.[201]

To prepare for a journey into Persia, Themistocles learned both the language and customs of the Persians in order to travel to Persia more easily. Such a passage is a powerful demonstration of an explicit marking of identity. The idea of Persian-ness is absolutely clear in statements like this.

Plato uses language to make a different kind of remark about Egypt:

> **IV.7 (Plato, Laws 2.656d-657a):** Athenian: It is wonderful even to hear about. Once, long ago, so it seems, this rationale, which we were just now speaking about, was decided upon—that it was necessary for the young people in their society to practice beautiful dance postures and songs in their daily interactions. They established what these forms and songs were and what they were like and depicted them in their temples, [e] It was not permitted for painters or anyone else who works on forms or likenesses to innovate or contrive anything other than what was customary either in these arts or any musical form. Upon looking you would discover there that something written or [2.657a.] carved 10,000 years ago is no better or worse than what is being practiced in the present, but is completed in an identical manner with the same art. (RECW 7.3)

Plato's Athenian discusses hieroglyphic writing, the writing of Egypt, and suggests that it is proof of the antiquity of Egypt's lack of cultural evolution for 10,000 years.[202] In addition to language, several specifically Egyptian cultural forms are mentioned that could be considered additional markers of identity.

In addition to the isolated references to specific cultural customs or forms, Herodotus

201 Crawley 1910.

202 It may be one of the earliest Western descriptions of the "unchanging Orient" trope in western Orientalism. Said defines the trope in Said 1978: 96.

also provides synthetic summaries of several different cultures. These general surveys provide a kind of textbook summary of a specific culture in Greek writing and clearly demonstrate the breadth of cultural elements that could be ascribed to different groups.

Herodotus surveys Persian customs in considerable detail in the following excerpt:

> **IV.8 (Hdt. 1.131–140):** 1.131 [1] I know that the Persians use the following customs: they do not set up statues, temples, or altars, but consider those who do so foolish. This is the case, it seems to me, because they do not attribute human qualities to their gods as the Greeks do. [2] They are accustomed to ascend to the highest mountain peaks and to perform sacrifices to Zeus. They even refer to the entire heavens as Zeus. They sacrifice to the sun and moon as well as to earth, fire, water, and the winds. [3] From earliest days, they sacrificed only to these gods, but later learned from the Assyrians and Arabians to sacrifice in addition to Heavenly Aphrodite. [...]
>
> 1.132. Persians perform sacrifices to their gods according to the following customs: They neither set up altars nor are they accustomed to offer burnt sacrifices. Nor do they make drink-offerings, play flutes, wear garlands, or use barley meal. Instead, if anyone wishes to sacrifice to one of the gods, he leads an animal to an unpolluted location while crowned with a tiara, preferably of myrtle. [...]
>
> 1.133. The Persians think that the day most important for a person to honor is one's own birthday. On this day, they see fit to lay out a feast larger than on any other day. At this birthday feast, the wealthier serve ox, horse, camel, and donkey, cooked whole over flames. The poorer folks serve goat or sheep. [...]
>
> 1.134. When Persians happen upon each other in public, one can tell the relative social rank of people by how they interact. If they are equals, instead of saying hello, they kiss each other on the mouth. If one is of slightly lower status, they kiss on the cheek. But if one is of significantly lower status, that one falls to the ground and prostrates himself before the other. [...]
>
> 1.135. Persians are especially keen to adopt foreign customs. For example, they wear Median clothes because they think Median clothes are more attractive than their own. They also wear Egyptian breastplates into battle. They tend to examine the assorted pleasures of others and pursue some of them—like their borrowing of pederasty from the Greeks. Each Persian also marries many "official" wives and then procures many more concubines for himself in addition. [...]

> 1.136. A man's masculinity is based, first, on his prowess in war, and second, on his ability to produce many children. Throughout each year, the king sends gifts to whatever man has produced the most sons. They believe there is strength in numbers. [...]
>
> 1.140. I speak of those matters from my knowledge and experience. Further tales, however, are hinted at in whispers. [...] Well, let us be satisfied with knowing of this custom as it originated. I'll now return to my previous tale. (RECW 10.4)

Although the accuracy of many of these statements is problematic, symbolically the passage presents a summary of the range of customs that could be considered salient. It begins with religious ritual and their gods, describes the details of ritual sacrifice, identifies a type of cultural holiday, discusses social behaviors concerning rank, talks about cultural tolerance and sexual mores, and gender roles. Each of these could adequately be considered a marker of social identity, and when combined, provide a coherent and strong picture of the author's perception of a Persian society.

Sources V: Ethnic homelands

Already in the passages above, we have seen examples of the geography of peoples and homelands at work. Homelands are easy to demonstrate in Greek texts. Five examples using the texts above are:

In I.1, the Greeks "return" to Hellas, presumably because they belong there. The Boeotians settle Boeotia. The Dorians took the Peloponnese.

In I.10, notice that discussion moves geographically from east to west. The Libyan tribes were associated with specific lands and could be described in that order.

In I.12 Herodotus describes a Persian view that barbarians and Asia belong to the Persians while Europe and everything Greek is separate. This view suggests that Greeks do not belong in Asia.

I.14 describes the Arabs of Arabia.

I.15 describes Indians and their Indian territory.

The identity marker of people belonging in a place is clear in all of these examples, but probably the most famous accounting of homelands is in the "Catalog of Ships" of the Iliad:

> **V.1 (Il. 2.494-759):** Now will I tell the captains of the ships and the ships in their order. Of the Boeotians Peneleos and Leitus were captains, [495] and Arcesilaus and Prothoenor and Clonius; these were they that dwelt in Hyria and rocky Aulis and Schoenus and Scolus and Eteonus with its many ridges, Thespeia, Graea, and spacious Mycalessus; and that dwelt about Harma and Eilesium and Erythrae; [500] and that held Eleon and Hyle and Peteon, Ocalea and Medeon, the well-built citadel, Copae, Eutresis, and Thisbe, the haunt of doves; that dwelt in Coroneia and grassy Haliartus, and that held Plataea and dwelt in Glisas; [505] that held lower Thebe, the well-built citadel, and holy Onchestus, the bright grove of Poseidon; and that held Arne, rich in vines, and Mideia and sacred Nisa and Anthedon on the seaboard. Of these there came fifty ships, and on board of each [510] went young men of the Boeotians an hundred and twenty. […] And they that dwelt in Aspledon and Orchomenus of the Minyae were led by [...] And of the Phocians [...] these were they that held Cyparissus and rocky Pytho, [520] and sacred Crisa and Daulis and Panopeus; and that dwelt about Anemoreia and Hyampolis, and that lived beside the goodly river Cephisus, and that held Lilaea by the springs of Cephisus. [...] And the Locrians [...] were they that dwelt in Cynus and Opus and Calliarus and Bessa and Scarphe and lovely Augeiae and Tarphe and Thronium about the streams of Boagrius. [...] the Locrians that dwell over against sacred Euboea. And the Abantes, breathing fury, that held Euboea and Chalcis and Eretria and Histiaea, rich in vines, and Cerinthus, hard by the sea, and the steep citadel of Dios; and that held Carystus and dwelt in Styra,[...] And they that held Athens[...] And Aias led from Salamis twelve ships, [...] And they that held Argos and Tiryns, [...] And they that held Mycenae, [...] And they that held the hollow land of Lacedaemon [...] And they that dwelt in Pylos [...] And they that held Arcadia […] [615] And they that dwelt in Buprasium and goodly Elis [...]

> and many Epeians embarked thereon. [...] And those from Dulichiuni and the Echinae, the holy isles, [...] And Odysseus led the great-souled Cephallenians that held Ithaca and Neritum, [...] And the Aetolians [...] that dwelt in Pleuron and Olenus and Pylene and Chalcis, hard by the sea, and rocky Calydon. [...] [645] And the Cretans [...] that held Cnosus and Gortys, famed for its walls, Lyctus and Miletus and Lycastus, white with chalk, and Phaestus and Rhytium, well-peopled cities [...]And [...] from Rhodes [...] the lordly Rhodians, [655] [...] Moreover [...] from Syme [...] And they that held Nisyrus and Crapathus and Casus and Cos, the city of Eurypylus, and the Calydnian isles, [...]. Now all those again that inhabited Pelasgian Argos, and dwelt in Alos and Alope and Trachis, and that held Phthia and Hellas, the land of fair women, and were called Myrmidons and Hellenes and Achaeans— [685] of the fifty ships of these men was Achilles captain. [...] [695] And they that held Phylace and flowery Pyrasus [...] And they that dwelt in Pherae beside the lake Boebeis, and in Boebe, and Glaphyrae, and well-built Iolcus,[...] And they that dwelt in Methone and Thaumacia, and that held Meliboea and rugged Olizon, [...] And they that held Tricca and Ithome of the crags, [730] and Oechalia, city of Oechalian Eurytus, [...] And they that held Ormenius and the fountain Hypereia, [...] And they that held Argissa, [...] and with him followed the Enienes and the Peraebi, staunch in fight, [750] that had set their dwellings about wintry Dodona, [...] And the Magnetes [...] that dwelt about Peneius and Pelion, covered with waving forests.[203]

The Catalog of Ships identifies all the Achaean participants of the Trojan War and describes the leader of each contingent, the settlements associated with that contingent, and often provides additional identifying information about the contingent, its leader, or its home environment in order to complete the verse. The link between a people and its homeland is repeated over and over again throughout the catalog, and through the ancestral myths and genealogical information (described in Sources II), the information of the Catalog could be tied to living groups in Classical Greece, whether they were mentioned in it explicitly (e.g. Athenians, Spartans) or not (e.g. Dorians, Thessalians).

Sources VI: Ethnic solidarities

Descriptions of ethnic solidarity are the most difficult of the six types of ethno-symbolic

203 Murray 1924.

markers to identify in ancient sources because they require the most detailed literary documents in which to find examples. Fortunately, Greek documents do provide strong examples of ethnic solidarity.

The preference and ethnocentrism different cultures have for their own customs is detectable throughout Herodotus. An early example would be the civilizational antagonism that divided Greek from barbarian, European from Asian, in passages like I.12. Indeed, the whole of the Iliad could be read as a story about the respective solidarity of the Achaean and Trojan peoples, but probably the strongest example of ethnic solidarity can be found in the famous summary of Greek culture in Herodotus.

Book 8 of *The Histories* provides an iconic description of Greek culture:

> **VI.1 (Hdt. 8.144.1–2):** Athenians: "It was quite natural for the Spartans to fear that we would come to an agreement with the barbarian. Nevertheless, we think it disgraceful that you became so frightened, since you are well aware of the Athenians' disposition, namely, that there is no amount of gold anywhere on earth so great, nor any country that surpasses others so much in beauty and fertility, that we would accept it as a reward for medizing and enslaving Hellas. [2] For there are a great many things preventing us from doing this even if we wanted to. First and foremost are the images and temples of the gods that were burned and destroyed—necessity compels us to avenge this destruction to the greatest extent possible rather than come to agreements with the one committing the acts. Second, *it would not be fitting for the Athenians to prove traitors to the Greeks* with whom we are united in sharing the same kinship and language, together with whom we have established shrines and conduct sacrifices to the gods, and with whom we also share the same mode of life." (RECW 5.6)

The passage describes the Athenian response to the Spartan envoy who was asking if they

would join them in resisting the Persian Invasion (479 BCE). In addition to providing a tidy summary on the Greek opinion of what defined "Greekness"—that is kinship, language, shrines, ritual, and gods—it is notable for providing an explicit appeal to loyalty based primarily on the shared Greek identity of both the Spartans and Athenians. As the passage makes clear, the Athenians decided to stand with their fellow Greeks and fight for the reasons listed.

Ethnic solidarity was not always political in nature. A second arena where social or ethnic solidarity became visible was in the various Panhellenic games.

The Olympic Games were a marker of Greekness:

> **VI.2 (Hdt. 5.22.1–2):** That those descendants of Perdiccas are Greek, according to what they say, I happen to know for certain and will show later in my history. Additionally, the Hellenodicai, who govern the Olympic games, judged them so. [2] For, when Alexander elected to compete in the games and entered the lists to do so, the Greeks who ran against him prevented him from competing, saying that the games were not for barbarian contestants but Greeks only. Alexander then demonstrated his Argive descent, was deemed a Greek by the judges, and competed in the foot race and finished in first place. (RECW 5.5)

Herodotus describes a story regarding the first Macedonians who wished to participate in the Olympic Games, which were a sacred event in which only Greeks could compete. The leadership of the Olympics, a kind of Olympic committee, weighed the evidence presented by the Macedonian Alexander (not the Great) and decided that he was, in fact, Greek. The evidence he produced was a genealogical story that linked the Macedonian royal family to the descendants of an Argive exile. Regardless of the outcome, the passage demonstrates the Greek solidarity involved in Panhellenic festivals like the Olympic Games.

A third way to examine instances of ethnic solidarity would be too look at instances where *syngeneia* is invoked. Greek *syngeneia* is the regular word for family kinship.[204] A *syngenes* is someone who is recognized as belonging to the same *genos* as oneself, through a common genealogical ancestor, whether or not it is biologically true.[205] In the same way that *genos* was sometimes extended beyond the scope of a literal family to refer to a wider notion of kinship, *syngeneia* could be used in an extended usage to mean kinship among individuals with a shared belief in a common ancestor.[206]

Thucydides' history is filled with instances where one party or another appealed to *syngeneia* out of a desire to diplomatically influence another:

> **VI.3. (Thuc. 1.95.1):** But Pausanias, being now grown insolent, both the rest of the Grecians [Hellens] and especially the Ionians who had newly recovered their liberty from the king, offended with him, came to the Athenians and requested them for consanguinity's [syngeneia] sake to become their leaders and to protect them from the violence of Pausanias.[207]

Ionian city-states living in Asia Minor remained afraid of Persian encroachment following the Greek victory in the Persian Wars (480–79 BCE). This passage describes the Asian Ionians who requested that Athens assume leadership over them; it would create a political league based on their *syngeneia* as Ionians.

204 Hall 1997: 36; LSJ s.v. "συγγένεια" (syngeneia)

205 Hall 1997: 37.

206 Hall 1997: 37.

207 Crawley 1910.

Further examples of kinship and *syngeneia*:

> **VI.4 (Thuc. 3.86.3):** Now the confederates of the Leontines, in respect of their ancient alliance with the Athenians *as also for that they were Ionians*, obtained of the Athenians to send them galleys, for that the Leontines were deprived by the Syracusians of the use both of the land and sea.[208]

Thucydides tells a story where, in 427 BCE, the Sicilian city of Leontines requested Athenian assistance in a war against the Dorians of Syracuse on the basis of their shared Ionian kinship.

This is a similar passage:

> **VI.5 (Thuc. 6.20.3):** For besides Naxos and Catana (which too I hope will join with us for their affinity [*syngenia*] with the Leontines), there are other seven, furnished in all respects after the manner of our own army, and especially those two against which we bend our forces most, Selinus and Syracuse.[209]

Further Sicilian towns joined the cause against Syracuse on the basis of Ionian *syngenia*.

Dorians also appealed to kinship:

> **VI.6 (Thuc. 1.124.1):** 'So that seeing it will be every way good to make the war, and since in common we persuade the same, and seeing also that both to the cities and to private men it will be the most profitable course, put off no longer neither the defence of the Potidaeans, who are Dorians and besieged (which was wont to be contrary) by lonians, nor the recovery of the liberty of the rest of the Grecians. For it is a case that admitteth not delay when they are some of them already oppressed, and others (after it shall be known we met and durst not right ourselves) shall shortly after undergo the like.[210]

The Corinthian delegation appealed to Dorian unity in a congress with the Spartans and their allies in 432 BCE. The Ionian identity of the besiegers is seen as sufficient reason for a Dorian response.

208 Crawley 1910.

209 Crawley 1910.

210 Crawley 1910.

Discussion

The results of the preceding survey provide a broad picture of the markers of alterity and social difference in ancient Greek texts. We see that such markers are abundant, and indeed, all six ethno-symbolic markers of ethnic identity can be demonstrated, often frequently and easily. In summary, we find the following results:

Innumerable group names appear (I) in both gentilic and geneaological name forms (I.1), and they frequently appear as both nouns and adjectives (I.3). The names are often closely related to geographic locations, both explicitly and implicitly (I.2), but foreign or descriptive-names are occasionally used in cases of exotic groups from distant places (I.4–5).

Named groups can be arranged into "nested identities" of a social hierarchy (I.7–8), but these attributions do not appear absolute and the organization and meaning can be fluid and situational. The Greek passages sometimes arrange the terms dynamically and each passage must be evaluated on its own terms in order to identity the relative arrangement of named groups. In other words, it would be a mistake to classify names into a typology of "races," "tribes," and "clans." Finally, some of the important national names includes: Egyptians (I.9), Libyans (I.10), Ethiopians (I.11), Persians (I.12), Assyrians and Babylonians (I.13), Phoenicians and Arabians (I.14), Indians (I.15), Scythians (I.3), and Greeks (I.16), and Greeks were further divided into smaller groups that could be named variously by their region, city, or dialect, which were often associated with various *phylai* (I.17–18).

In addition to genealogical names, which explicitly label a group according to a supposed ancestor, several ancestor myths appear in Greek texts that describe and elaborate on the

presumed origins of particular groups (II). Stories of this type could be invoked for political purposes (II.1), but more commonly they appeared as mythological stories with no obvious purpose beyond etiology (II.2–3).[211] Such stories were not considered sacred in Antiquity (II.4), and Jonathan Hall suggests that the contradictions between different stories and versions of stories can be explained as a consequence of the "aggregative" process by which they formed during the Archaic Period.[212] Essentially, he says the stories formed over time and we not created whole-cloth at any single moment before the Classical Period.

Several groups in Greek texts are defined by histories (III) that intend to elaborate on the identity and character of a named group. These stories are distinguished from origin myths by their mundane quality and relatively recent time frames. A historical account of the Greek people (III.1) appears to contrast the abstract mythological narrative of the same people (II.2–3), for example. Non-Greek historical sources are also known in the texts, presumably originating in the other cultures, as in the case of the Persian example provided (III.2).

In addition to stories, multiple cultural elements (IV) are described in detail in order to characterize named groups and to compare and contrast them from one another in Greek texts. Some examples of distinguishing cultural elements include costume and dress (IV.1–2), festivals and holidays (IV.3–4), and different languages (IV.5–7). When combined, numerous elements could be brought together to describe the entire culture of a people (IV.8).

People's homelands (V) are described explicitly in several Greek texts, reinforcing the links implied by gentilic name forms and specifically assigning people a place in the world.

211 Although all such inscriptions are political by their nature, it can be impossible to determine the political forces acting on a particular inscription or story without considerable information about the context in which it was written. While this is available in some cases, it is unavailable far more often.

212 Hall 1997: 47–54.

The most complete listing of homelands is, perhaps, the *Catalog of Ships* (V.1), but homelands are visible in most of the texts provided that mention geography at all.

Finally, various expressions of group solidarity are also visible in multiple places and ways in ancient Greek documents. Ethnocentrism is a recurring theme of the writings, and both Greek and foreign cultures celebrate the values of their own societies (I.12). The loyalty of the Greeks to one another is a common political theme (VI.1), and the solidarity of the Greeks was celebrated and demonstrated in special games meant only for members of the Greek nation or social body (VI.2), but we find the most explicit markers of solidarity in the invocation of *syngeneia* "kinship" in the texts. Different groups and sub-groups appeal to kinship, over or in addition to material factors and realpolitik, in their diplomatic embassies (VI.3–6), calling for unity to the community as a priority.

Conclusion

The ancient Greek conceptions of social difference were often focused on membership in the city-state, and strong attitudes of "civilizational prejudice" regarding the inferiority of barbarians are visible. Nonetheless, a clearly defined sense of ethnic difference is visible in the ancient Greek materials, and all six ethno-symbolic markers can be demonstrated in abundance. Consequently, it seems reasonable to conclude that the concept of ethnicity was fully formed in the Greek Classical Period, and that many of the named groups above were, in fact, ethnies (ethnic groups).

This conclusion and its ramifications will be discussed in further detail in chapter five, where the results of all three case studies can be found.

Note on Greek "Race"

Previous studies have reached similar conclusions about the existence of ethnic groups in Classical Greece, but recent Classical studies have tended to focus on the prejudicial perceptions of the Greek authors and their texts (e.g. Isaac 2004, McCoskey 2012). This preference is a result of disagreements concerning modern theories of identity (i.e. what are "race" and "ethnicity"?) among scholars and are not over the reading of ancient texts. The reading and literal translation of the texts is not contested; our studies only disagree in matters of analysis. The present study arranges the markers into an ethno-symbolic paradigm, but others have arranged them to show the history of other types of identity. This should not undermine the utility of the present assessment, and it is entirely possible to accept the results of all these studies. The ancient Greeks could have been both ethnies (ethnic groups) and races, by one definition or another, in the same way that modern communities can be described as one, another, or both.

Chapter Three: The Concept of Ethnicity in Biblical Hebrew Texts

Introduction

In this chapter, we survey the markers of alterity and social difference in the books of the Hebrew Bible and evaluate the dimensions of social identity they express, using an ethno-symbolic model of group identity. The survey continues the work that began in the previous chapter with the markers in ancient Greek, and that continues in the next chapter, which concerns the markers in Middle Babylonian texts. This is the second of three case studies in the present work.

The books of the Hebrew Bible are a logical choice to continue our investigation of the ethnie in antiquity. As we have already seen, Christian constructs of difference, such as the term and the concept "gentile," significantly shaped the labels and boundaries of social difference throughout Western history. The bible, including the Hebrew "Old Testament," is foundational as a guiding work that shaped the particulars of Christian tradition. Indeed, it has long been said that Christian thought, and the "West," owes as much to Jerusalem as to Athens.[213] In relatively recent history, the bible was shown to have played a key role in the religious justification for the practice of slavery in antebellum American states of the South.[214] Clearly the Hebrew Bible is a work concerned with concepts of identity.

Our interest is more particular than these traditional topics, however. The Hebrew Bible provides an important additional source of cultural evidence from the same world, and world-

213 Many writers have described the Christian and Western traditions in these terms, perhaps beginning most successfully with St. Augustine in *City of God* in 426 CE. Erich Auerbach's *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature* (1946) provides a powerful update that functions similarly.

214 For passages and bibliography, see Morrison 1980 in general and Haynes 2002 on Genesis.

system, as that of the ancient Greeks.[215] It provides an interesting and important counterpoint testifying to the cultural landscape of the ancient Mediterranean world of antiquity. The concept of the ethnie cannot be uniquely or idiosyncratically part of the Greek world if a sufficiently large number of ethno-symbolic markers of difference can also be found in the Hebrew corpus. So the various books of the Hebrew Bible provide an important alternative to, and an additional source for information about, the perception of difference in the ancient Mediterranean during the first millennium BCE.

The present chapter begins by introducing the texts of the Hebrew Bible as a project of making and maintaining identity, and describes the approach to identities that will be used in the examination of the various markers. It continues with excursus defining terms like "ethno-national" and "ethno-religious"—which we have already seen, but which require more attention because of the greater role they play in the bible. The chapter then provides a brief historical sketch of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, highlighting the key events that shaped the language of identity in the corpus, in order to provide context for the excerpted texts and discussion, which appear in the subsequent section. Finally, the results of the textual survey are discussed in some detail in order to analyze the results, and the chapter concludes with an assessment of the ethno-symbolic form of ethnicity visible in the books of the Hebrew Bible.

The Hebrew Bible and Identity

The books of the Hebrew Bible contain many differences from the Greek works considered in chapter two. A detailed summary of these differences is beyond the scope of our

215 See "A Mediterranean System" in Van De Mieroop 2007:223–235 and the World Systems Theory of Wallerstein 1974.

project,[216] but for our purpose, the key difference between Hebrew Bible and the corpus of ancient Greek texts is that the bible is the result of an editorial project. Unlike the Greek works, which a diversity of authors produced for a variety of reasons, the form of the bible that we have today is the result of deliberate collection and organization.[217] It is a collection of ancient texts that were preserved for particular reasons and thus share a certain unity of purpose and intent. The chief reason was theological—what is (our) God and how do we worship him?—but the process of writing, editing, and preserving different works was political.[218] Historically, Hebrew writing was originally a tool of the government; it was then slowly taken over as a tool of religious authority and orthodoxy.[219] Thus the writings became a locus of political conflict, with consequences that unfolded in the social sphere of identity.

In this view, the bible is ultimately a work concerned with the marking of identities. The Old Testament specialist Kåre Berge shares this view; he writes that, "the bible is, in itself, an interpretation or rather a creative effort of ethnic, national identity."[220] The bible is a work of identity explication and ascription performed through the cultural interpretation of earlier texts. The editorial process is, itself, an act of boundary demarcation through the selective inclusion and exclusion, even without consideration of the revisions that may be applied to older texts. Berge continues to describe the bible as "a hierarchical structure of powerful stories that translate, encounter, and re-contextualize other powerful stories."[221] For Berge, the

216 See Stott 2008 for an introduction and bibliography.

217 See Carr 2010 for the details of this process. Several highlights are described below. Schniedewind 2005 provides a more traditional account.

218 Sparks 2005: 271.

219 Schniedewind 2005: 228.

220 Berge 2014: 80–1.

221 Berge 2014: 81; Clifford 1986: 121.

bible is specifically about the definition and redefinition of what it meant to be "Israelite," defined in terms of the history of self (or historical selves) as well as Others (and historical Others). Unsurprisingly, he proceeds to caution us about non-Israelite markers in the texts, noting that they are always, by definition, negative presentations that function only as boundaries defining and exalting "Israelite" identity.[222] Although the reminder of the power dynamics contained in the texts is warranted, it does not bear directly on the generalized, schematic level of our present study, which is concerned with the operation of broad, relational differences and not the detailed cultural content of specific groups or identities. We are not interested in how a "Canaanite" was imagined, but rather in how categorical concepts like "Canaanite" function in the text.

Biblicist Diana Edelman makes a similar point in her study of the earliest texts of the bible. She notes that "the substance of the identities varies from group to group and is determined by specific historical circumstances. Once [an identity like] ethnicity emerges, however, as the basis of social classification and status relations, it seems on the experiential level to become an independent principle that determines social status, class membership, and social relations."[223] Here she is suggesting that while specific identities are unlikely to contain useful evidence about their origins (i.e. ethnogenesis) or their history per se, the identities do function, certainly in the texts themselves, and probably in the social world surrounding the texts. These effects can become visible in the literary history of a tradition, regardless of the status of such identities as imagined constructions, and this is why it can be useful to discuss group identities like "Israelite," "Philistine," or "Canaanite" without possessing a certain or pure

222 Berge 2014: 82–4.

223 Edelman 1996: 26.

definition of the terms in any specific period or text. Another Old Testament scholar, Mark G. Brett, said this explicitly: "while controversy and doubt will always surround the study of particular biblical traditions, there can be no doubt that the bible records a long and heated conversation about how the [Barthian] boundaries of the Israelite community are to be constructed and maintained.[224] He also cautions that, "a 'culture' is not, in itself, a social unit, and ethnic groups are permeable in the bible."[225] To study the ethnic groups of the bible is not to search, in vain, for pure, historical, or "objective" definitions of specific groups, which do not and probably never did exist, but rather to observe a dialectic process of negotiation through which identities are inscribed, into texts, and into the societies in which the texts existed.

The books of the Hebrew Bible contain a wealth of information about identities, and indeed the entire collection should be considered an exercise in identification, but many recent debates concerning identity and ethnicity in the bible focus on detailed historical reconstructions.[226] Since we lack precision and have many unanswerable questions, especially about the earlier periods, these debates can be repetitive and unproductive.[227] A recent survey of the state of ethnicity research concerning the Hebrew Bible offers two suggestions for advancing the situation.[228] First, the author, James Miller, suggests that a more specific theoretical understanding of ethnicity is necessary in order to distinguish other forms of social identity from specifically ethnic ones; and second, he advocates the reading of terms with regard to their function, in relatively generalized historical settings in order to minimize the

224 Brett 1996: 11.

225 Brett 1996: 15.

226 e.g. Killbrew 2005; and Faust 2006.

227 Bloch-Smith 2003.

228 See Miller 2008.

dependency on historical details.[229] The present study attempts to employ both of these strategies exactly. First, by focusing only on the functional expression of ethno-symbolic markers, one can discuss the concept of the ethno-symbolic ethnie in the texts, which can then serve as a starting point for further and more precise research; and second, the historical context is generalized in an attempt to facilitate cross-cultural comparisons. We shall see whether or not this approach is effective, and the subject is discussed further below and again in chapter five.

Non-ethnic categorical identities

Discussion of identity in the Hebrew Bible requires the introduction of two concepts not previously defined, namely "ethno-national" and "ethno-religious" identities. These are what sociologist Craig Calhoun considers "categorical identities," a term denoting a large-scale identification of a social unit, marked by a similarity of attributes for equivalent members of the group.[230] Like ethnicity, which is also a categorical identity, these concepts possess a theoretical ambiguity that has provoked the production of critical scholarship. The following section defines how these concepts are used in the present study. They are necessary because, as we shall see, the markers of social difference in the bible focus primarily on non-ethnic boundaries.

Ethno-national

The concept of nationalism is modern. Many historians would agree that, as an ideology and discourse, nationalism became prevalent in North America and Western Europe in the

229 Miller 2008: 205.

230 Calhoun 1997: 42; The term is roughly synonymous with the less precise term "collective identity," used by many social scientists but which lacks the critical definition provided by Calhoun.

latter half of the eighteenth century with events such as the American Declaration of Independence (1776) and the French Revolution (1789/1792).[231] However, historians and social scientists express less agreement concerning the origin and definition of the related concept of the nation. Like theories of ethnicity, some see it as a concept specifically linked to the experience of modernity, an idea most famously expressed by Ernst Gellner.[232] The nation, for these (modernist) authors, is a growth—oriented system populated with secularly educated, socially mobile individuals who imagine the nation as a consequence of nationalism and industrial modernity.[233] Others see the nation as an inherent concept of the human condition, possibly even in nature itself; while nationalism, the ideology and political movement, might be recent and novel, nations formed out of extended kinship and were a ubiquitous and coeval extension of the family.[234] These (primordialist/perennialist) authors see the nation as a community consciousness deriving out of either the genetic-biological imperative or cultural "givens" such as language, custom, religion, race, and territory.[235] When scholars such as Azar Gat and Steven Grosby write about the emergence and continuation of a politically salient community consciousness in history, they are writing in this tradition.[236]

Ethno-symbolists share features in common with both scholarly camps. They share the modernist view that nations are 'real' sociological communities, that communities have lives of their own with consequences that influence the behavior of their members at a substantial

231 Hutchinson and Smith 1994: 4.

232 First in Gellner 1964: ch. 7: formalized and expanded in Gellner 1983.

233 Smith 2009: 5.

234 Smith 2009: 8.

235 Van den Berghe (1978) is the key proponent of the biological, and ultimately genetic, model; Geertz (1963) was the key advocate of the cultural model.

236 Gat 2013: 26; Grosby 1994 and 1993: 67–8.

level,[237] and that nations are historical communities, embedded in specific historical and geo-cultural contexts.[238] However, they disagree with the modernist periodization of nation formation and concerning the role of ethnicity.[239] In the ethno-symbolic approach, ethnicity functions much like *la longue durée* in the primordialist/perennialist camp, providing a symbolic resource that elites and political institutions employ in their expressions of nationalism.

In the present project, the term "nation" refers to a community of people that are assumed to possess a certain set of common traits, but are primarily associated with an affiliation, through cooperation or residence, with a specific territory or government. As we have noted, the powers and influence of national phenomena are the subject of considerable debate that largely falls outside our focus.[240] These debates mainly concern the political activity of the nation, especially as they concern nationalism, and the disagreements do not undermine a simple definition of the nation as an analytical category, as it is used here. The central focus on the concept of territory in this definition is analytical. Group sentiments and social perceptions are crucially important to the lived reality of national experiences, as likewise to ethnic experiences; but geographic boundaries provide tangible boundaries that are easier to identify and discuss.[241] Steven Grosby has articulated many of the features of early nations, and he regards territory as crucial in the formation of national sentiments.[242] He describes

237 Smith 2009: 13.

238 Smith 2009: 14.

239 Smith 2009: 14–21.

240 For the problems of definition, see Hutchinson and Smith 1994:4, 15–6, and for a survey of interpretations, see 17–46.

241 Armstrong 1982: 10–11.

242 Grosby 1997: 120–149; Grosby 1995:191–212; Grosby 1993: 52–68; and Smith 2009: 10.

territory, by analogy with the territorial state, as "the image of a bounded territory [that functions] as a factor in the constitution of a nation, specifically the attribution of relation by blood-tie to those who reside within that area of land which is believed to be their own."[243] Smith elaborated on this definition by pointing out the symbolic properties of territory in the historical, shared "memories" or a community.[244] The nation is the populace that lives, or believes that it is supposed to live, in a specific bounded territory.

We are concerned with the investigation of markers of identity that appear in ancient texts. For our purposes, a "national" identity would be a term describing a member of a nation, but even with our simple (and simplistic) definition, the demarcation and discussion of such a social form would be beyond the scope of the project. To introduce some ambiguity, the term "ethno-national" is used in the present study.[245] The term and its use are intended to be typological. Here the "ethno-" prefix functions in the manner described as the simple, ethnic category in chapter one. It is intended to maintain, rather than to conceal or highlight, the ambiguous boundaries between "ethnic" and "national" identities, since a single marker cannot, by itself, signal such nuance. In practice, an ethno-national marker could indicate an individual or group's ethnicity or nationality, one or both, but each instance should be evaluated individually if the distinction is significant. In short, an "ethno-national" term

243 Grosby 1993: 55–6.

244 "Since Renan, collective memories have always been recognized as a vital element in the construction of the nation and the self understanding of its nationalism. What is less often appreciated, to become national, shared memories must attach themselves to specific places and definite territories… The process by which certain kinds of shared memories are attached to particular territories so that the former become ethnic landscapes (or ethnoscapes) and the later become historic homelands can be called the 'territorlization of memory.'" Smith 1996: 453–4.

245 Not to be confused with "ethnic nationalism," a form of nationalism in which the nation is defined in terms of ethnicity. For this usage, see Connor 1994: ch.4, but note the ethno-symbolic criticism of Connor's theory (Smith 2009: 108–10).

describes a collective identity linked primarily to a particular territory.

We have already seen examples of ethno-national markers of identity in chapter two, including Greek (1.I.16), Egyptian (1.I.9), and Persian (1.I.12), as well as Ethiopian (1.I.11) and Babylonian (1.I.13), among others. In the Hebrew Bible many similar identities will be found. Since Giorgio Buccellati's important study in 1967, the perception of nations and states has dominated the interpretation of Iron Age societies in ancient Palestine, but this is not necessarily accurate or useful in every case.[246]

Ethno-religious

Many problems similar to those involved in ethno-national identities also occur when attempting to read and interpret the emphasis and meaning of primarily religious markers of identity. The issue of how to define the people of Israel is one of the main themes of the Book of Joshua, but any casual reading will make clear that it does not simply define them by ethnicity (or ethnic markers) alone.[247] There is an unmistakable spiritual component to the narrative. When Rahab the Canaanite helped the Israelites attack Jericho because she knew that God had given them the land (Josh 2), did she become part of Israel for her piety? Similarly, had the Israelite Achan joined Canaan when he stole some of the forbidden spoils (Josh 7 [2.III.3, below])? For this sin, the Lord withdrew support of all the Israelites, causing them to lose their next battle, at Ai (Josh 7:3–5), and the situation and condemnation was only rectified when Achan was executed as if he were an enemy. The moral of the stories is clear: the people of Israel could become like Canaanites—who were already placed under a ban and

246 Thompson 1998: 25; cf. Buccellati 1967.

247 Hawkins 2003: 156.

destroyed at Jericho—if they did not behave correctly.[248]

These stories are certainly tales of loyalty to one community or another, but to which? Are these sins or treasons? And if loyalty to a deity is religious, can these be considered conversions? How do we analyze an Israelite who has ceased being a Yahwist, that is, a worshiper of the god of Israel?[249]

To address these ambiguities, the category of ethno-religious identities will be used. As with ethno-nationalism above, this term too is intentionally opaque in order to preserve the uncertainty of the marker. Thus in the story of Rahab, she was loyal to Yahweh despite her status as a Canaanite, and her spiritual allegiance spared her from the attack on "her" ethno-national people. Thus, in the present project, the term "religious identity" describes a community of people dedicated to a set of common beliefs associated with a particular cult or deity, and by extension, the term "ethno-religious" identity describes a community of people assumed to posses a certain set of common traits that were, at least initially, defined in part by reference to the belief in a particular cult or deity. For example, a worshiper of the god Yahweh is a "Yahwist," a religious identity, but the term "Israelite" could describe an ethno-nationalist identity or an ethno-religious identity depending on the context of the passage and the larger message of the text. Achan defied the (ethno-nationalist) people of Israel, but he was killed for his transgression against their (ethno-religious) god.

Many biblical scholars have observed that in the Hebrew Bible the boundaries of differences are primarily generated by ideology, specifically that of Yahwism.[250] In general, it

248 Hawkins 2003: 156.

249 I use the term "Yahwist" here as an analytical term to emphasis the community associated with the temple rather than the palace. The term itself does not appear in the Hebrew Bible.

250 See Hawkins 2003: 155–7 for several examples.

seems that the biblical writers viewed religious faith as more appropriate, or at least more useful, for social integration than was ethnicity.[251] This does not mean that ethnic markers did not exist in the collection, nor does it mean that the concept of ethnicity is missing, but it does mean that the ethno-religious agenda was theological, rather than ethnic, per se.[252] Biblicists suggest that this agenda motivated the collecting of the Hebrew Bible in the final form that we see it today.[253] This view is perhaps best illustrated by the statement in Isaiah 45 (IV.1) that Yahweh is the only true god and Israel is his chosen people. Over the centuries, early Israel amalgamated multiple constituent groups, each with their own features.[254] The biblical collection records a diversity of experiences with these unions, and many of the texts show evidence of these tensions and of the changing boundaries of identities: ethnic, national, and religious.[255] Through the period of judges and the monarchy, Israel worshiped Yahweh, El, Baal, Asherah, Astarte, the sun, the moon, and the stars, and it was only later in Israel's recorded history, around the exilic period, that the biblical text expresses unambiguous expressions of Israelite monotheism.[256] This complex narrative of shifting, evolving boundary markers is fertile ground for the investigation of identities in antiquity.

Historical Sketch

The history of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah are primarily known through the works collected in the Hebrew Bible, the majority of which was written centuries after the events

251 Sparks 2005: 271.

252 Sparks 2005: 271.

253 Sparks 2005: 270-1; Bloch-Smith 2003: 404; Sparks 1998: 339; Thompson 1998: 31.

254 Bloch-Smith 2003: 404.

255 Sparks 2005: 270; Otto 2013: 345.

256 Bloch-Smith 2003: 404; Smith 1990: 7–12; Smith 2001: 151–154.

they describe. A considerable amount of uncertainty surrounds the historicity of many biblical events, especially in the early periods, and a wide spectrum of interpretational differences distinguish camps of biblical specialists from one another. These differences do not bear significantly on our reading of the markers of identity discussed below, but some familiarity with the overall narrative will assist the reader in orienting to the subject matter of the texts themselves.

The story of the Hebrew Bible begins with the creation of humankind at the dawn of time and ends with the social difficulties and reforms caused by the return of the Babylonian—exiled Judeans' return to Judah (c. 400 BCE). The story primarily focuses on the history of the people of greater Israel and on the details of the religion of Yahweh.[257] Different books were written by different writers, often in widely disparate time periods, and they usually focus on different stories with slightly different subject matter. The general cohesion of the theme and the overall organization of the text is due to the ongoing cultural tradition, in which the texts played a central role, as well as to the final editorial work of scribes and priests during the Persian period (c. 550–332 BCE).

The kingdoms of Israel and Judah were located in the eastern Mediterranean seaboard, in a region that is often called Syria-Palestine or the Levant, which is the southwestern flank of the Fertile Crescent in the Near East. The region extends about four hundred miles from the Taurus Mountains in the north to the Sinai Desert in the south, and stretches up to a hundred miles into the interior where it turns into the Arabian Desert. For longer than recorded history, the region has functioned as a crossroads and land-bridge linking the continents of

257 As described below, the term "Greater Israel" refers to the entire population of Israelites according to the texts. This includes the people of the northern kingdom of Samaria/Israel as well as the southern kingdom of Jerusalem/Judah.

Africa and Asia. The region narrows in the southern portion, Palestine, and contains a diverse topography that broadly includes the flat coastal region, twin mountain ranges running north-south, and a long valley depression between the two. The combination of difficult features and the lack of a major river valley encouraged the development of modest city-states and small, localized kingdoms rather than large empires, but the centralized location meant that the populations living in the area were heterogeneous and cosmopolitan.[258] The vast majority of people living in the region spoke closely related languages belonging to the Semitic family. Biblical Hebrew was one such language.

The following historical sketch summarizes the key events concerning identity in the narrative of the Hebrew Bible, in order to provide contextual reference for the reading of the excerpted texts appearing below. Unfortunately, archaeology has been unable to provide the specificity required to provide extra-biblical evidence for ethnic phenomena in ancient Israel, and only faint traces are discernible in behaviors, which can only be interpreted in conjunction with biblical testimony.[259] Consequently, the historical sketch is based on the biblical texts themselves. In matters of interpretation, the following reading adheres to the so-called "compromise position" and accepts modern critical research concerning the authorship and chronology of the bible, while acknowledging that the biblical text is the primary source for information on the narrative.[260]

258 Miller and Hayes 2006: 11.

259 Bloch-Smith 2003: 412.

260 Miller and Hayes 2006: 76–9; See Moore 2006 for the theories and issues of biblical interpretation in the historiography of ancient Israel.

Pre-state Tribal Period (c. 1250–1000 BCE)[261]

The Hebrew Bible recounts in great detail how the Israelites escaped from servitude in Egypt, wandered for forty years in the desert, then conquered and settled Palestine.[262] Modern research shows that the vast bulk of the earliest Israelites came from within Palestine and shared its language, its material culture, and to some extent its religion.[263] While this does not preclude the possibility of an Exodus-like group of slaves departing the kingdom of Egypt and settling in the region of Palestine, if it existed, it was only a small minority in the early population of Israel.[264] The designation, "Israel," probably referred rather loosely at first to certain clans and tribes settled in the north-central hill country.[265] These earliest "Israelites" would have been conscious of their lower status, as outsiders (*Apiru*) who shared ancestry with groups other than the remnants of the Bronze Age urban societies that had ruled in the previous era.[266] These groups would frequently band together to fight common enemies, (e.g. Philistines or Edomites) when threatened, and these alliances probably fostered an early sense of solidarity.[267] Probably through a connection to warfare, the deity Yahweh emerged as the chief deity of the Israelites, and this further reinforced the sense of solidarity among the tribes, but there do not appear to have been any early alliances or the creation of any "Israelite" leadership.[268]

---

261 Dates in this chapter follow Rainey and Notley 2006.

262 Miller and Hayes 2006: 5.

263 Carr 2010: 42; See also the remarks on "ethno-religious" (above) on the religion.

264 Carr 2010: 42; and Finkelstein 2007: 9–20.

265 Miller and Hayes 2006: 117.

266 Miller and Hayes 2006: 115.

267 Miller and Hayes 2006: 115.

268 Miller and Hayes 2006: 115–7.

At the center of this emerging sense of Israelite identity, the clans of Ephraim settled in the north-central hill country, and at least initially, "Ephraim" may have been synonymous with "Israel."[269] Other tribes were clustered around and associated with Ephraim, including Benjamin, Gilead, Manasseh, Machir, Jair, and Nobah, but it is members of Ephraim who command the central position in the patriarchal (Genesis), conquest (Joshua), and pre-monarchic (Judges) narratives.[270] The prophet Samuel, for example, was of the tribe Ephraim (1 Sam 1:1). The cluster of Ephraimite clans settled in the hill country, but they were not in control of the lowlands or any significant cities. The biblical sources consider the time "before any king ruled over the Israelites" (Gen 36:31) as the Time of Judges, when a collection of folk heroes were guided by Yahweh to lead the early coalitions against various enemies.[271] The account in the Book of Judges contains traces of older traditions, but the form as we have it is the result of a theological redaction that edited the narrative to fit the values of Deuteronomy.[272] A major consequence of this for identity research is, as Kåre Berge points out that "the authors who wrote about the Canaanites were very much aware that this group of people belonged to the ancient past." The earliest account of "Israel" thus functions symbolically in the text and should be considered very cautiously for historical research.

United Monarchy (c. 1000–930 BCE)

According to the biblical sources, the period of judges came to an end because the people of greater Israel wanted a king for religious and political reasons (1 Sam 8–12), though many scholars believe the ultimate cause was a desire to have centralized leadership in order to repel

269 Miller and Hayes 2006: 117.

270 Miller and Hayes 2006: 117.

271 Edelman 1996: 32; Miller and Hayes 2006: 67–8

272 Carr 2010: 144.

the Philistine invasions into the hill country.[273] Saul, a man from a prominent and wealthy family in Benjaminite territory, was selected as "king" and won several battles, using his private army.[274] In time, the sources say that a popular officer in Saul's army, David, began to eclipse Saul in power and attention after winning several battles of his own. When Saul and his heir died, the Israelite leaders anointed David as the king of all Israel and Judah.[275] David continued to fight the Philistines, Moabites, and others, but he also introduced several social changes that transformed his administration into a true kingship, including the fortification of a capital city (Jerusalem), the employment of a professional army, and the introduction of taxes.[276] He brought the Ark of the Covenant, an artifact sacred to the Israelites, into Jerusalem, and he started plans for a temple.[277] He lived a relatively long life and his son, Solomon, succeeded him on the throne through a bit of court intrigue and the assistance of his mother, Bathsheba.[278]

According to the biblical sources, Solomon's reign was a "golden age." Solomon, as king, is described as exceedingly wise, exceptionally wealthy, and an extremely powerful ruler whose empire stretched from the Euphrates River in the north to the Egyptian frontier in the south.[279] He began to transform Jerusalem into a full-fledged Near Eastern city-state, expanded the royal cabinet, participated in marriage alliances with foreign kings, traded abroad, and

273 Carr 2010: 57.

274 Miller and Hayes 2006: 136–8.

275 Carr 2010: 58.

276 Carr 2010: 58; Miller and Hayes 2006: 176–80.

277 Carr 2010: 59.

278 Carr 2010: 59.

279 Miller and Hayes 2006: 186.

began large-scale building projects at several cities.[280] Most importantly, drawing heavily on the material and technical resources of the Tyrian king Hiriam, Solomon built the Jerusalem Temple for Yahweh and a palace for himself.[281]

Divided Monarchy (c. 930–722 BCE)

The united monarchy ended upon the death of Solomon, according to the biblical sources. A disagreement arose between Rehoboam, Solomon's son and heir, and the elders of Israel, who sought a reduction in taxes that Rehoboam seemed unwilling to grant (1 Kgs 12).[282] The council selected Jeroboam who was of the tribe of Ephraim and a former official of the court, as the new king of Israel instead. Henceforth, the greater kingdom of Israel was divided into the northern kingdom of Israel/Samaria and the southern kingdom of Judah/Jerusalem. Four decades of hostilities followed between the northern and southern kingdoms; these were further complicated by invasions by Sheshonq of Egypt and, supposedly, Zerah the Ethiopian (2 Chr 14–5).[283] Differences between the northern and southern traditions appeared almost immediately as a result of such political circumstances, and Jeroboam initiated a cultic reform that encouraged further changes.[284] Of particular importance, the northern and southern kingdoms appear to have had independent corpora of written texts,[285] and the analysis of the northern or southern origin of different traditions inside the text features as one of the primary activities of biblical scholarship concerning identity.[286]

---

280 Carr 2010: 59.

281 Carr 2010: 59; Miller and Hayes 2006: 189–90.

282 Carr 2010: 93.

283 Miller and Hayes 2006: 259–83.

284 Miller and Hayes 2006: 275–8.

285 Carr 2010: 95.

286 See Fleming 2012: 8–16 for a summary of the implications and recent scholarship.

After decades of civil strife in the northern kingdom, a new period of prosperity was initiated by Omri, a former commander of the army who gained the throne in a coup.[287] Under Omri and his successors, Israel became a major participant in Syro-Palestinian politics, and Judah, for all practical purposes, became a vassal of the northern kingdom while sharing in the general prosperity of the period.[288] The period was relatively short-lived, however. For the final century of Israelite independence, both the northern and southern kingdoms fell under the increasing influence of foreign powers: first Damascus and later Assyria.[289] Israelite and Judean history throughout the eighth and seventh centuries should be viewed as the history of a small corner of the Assyrian Empire.[290] This tension provides the background and theme for many of the prophetic writings, including Amos, Hosea, Micah, and Isaiah.[291]

Judah Alone (c. 722–586 BCE)

In 722 BCE, according to Assyrian and biblical sources, the Assyrians conquered the capital city of Samaria and deported much of the population to other districts in the empire.[292] Subsequently, Judah became a vassal of the Assyrian Empire for well over a century.[293] The Judeans enjoyed a period of relative stability as a small power inside the Assyrian Empire whose fortunes were inexorably linked to the international affairs of the nearby Delta and Kushite Egyptians as well as the Assyrians.[294]

287 Miller and Hayes 2006: 285–6.

288 Miller and Hayes 2006: 286.

289 Miller and Hayes 2006: 327–358.

290 Miller and Hayes 2006: 360.

291 Carr 2010: 102–112.

292 Miller and Hayes 2006: 387–8.

293 Miller and Hayes 2006: 392.

294 Miller and Hayes 2006: 392.

A succession struggle broke out in the court of Assyria that invited the invasion of several of Assyria's enemies into northern Mesopotamia, which ultimately led to the collapse of the Assyrian Empire in 612 BCE.[295] In its place arose a new power centered on the city of Babylon, one that quickly moved to establish itself as the imperial heir to Assyrian power. Initially Judah fell under the influence of the new Babylonian Empire, but sometime around 590 BCE, Judah rebelled.[296] The Babylonians reacted by conquering Judah: they captured the Judean royal family, pulled down the city walls of Jerusalem, burned the holy temple, and brought the temple's treasures, along with several thousand Judeans, to Babylon.[297]

Babylonian Exile (586–538 BCE)

At least three waves of deportees were exiled to the imperial capital by the Babylonians.[298] The exiles included the upper and artisan classes, and they continued their literary activities in their new city.[299] The literary elite had memorized ancient texts as part of their education, and the Deuteronomic Torah, Proverbs, Song of Songs, and other texts were said to be "written on the tablet of their hearts" (Prov 3:3, 7:3). Thus, they produced new texts or editions of texts that reflected the hopes and challenges of their new environment.[300] It was during the exile that stories of Israel's history before conquest and monarchy started to become the literary foundation on which everything else in the bible was based.[301]

295 Miller and Hayes 2006: 444–446.

296 Miller and Hayes 2006: 474–5.

297 Miller and Hayes 2006: 476–7.

298 Carr 2010: 167–8.

299 Miller and Hayes 2006: 481.

300 Carr 2010: 172.

301 Carr 2010: 205; In particular, biblical scholars trace two traditions that co-existed among the "Torah of Moses" in this period: a "priestly" (P) tradition and a "lay" (L) tradition that edited and elaborated on older traditions (formerly called Yahwistic {J} and Elohist {E}). See the Introduction to Sources below for more information.

Post-Exilic Persian Period (538–332 BCE)

A new power conquered the city of Babylon in 539 BCE: the Persians.[302] The new ruler, Cyrus II (the Great), granted permission for Judeans (and probably many other exiles) to return to their country of origin, and even played a major role in the rebuilding of the Jerusalem temple that had been destroyed by the Babylonians.[303] During this period, the Mosaic Torah was collected into a form resembling the version familiar today.[304] The process of returning, recovering, and rebuilding was not an easy one, and later texts such as Ezra, Nehemiah, and Ruth address the social issues of the period; in particular, they view issues of identity in a new light.[305] The status of "foreigner" (*nokri*) gained a new and notably undesirable connotation.[306] The biblical sources describe an attempt by Ezra to encourage men to divorce foreign women and abandon the children produced by such unions, but all appearances suggest that the program failed.[307]

Hellenistic Period and beyond (332–167 BCE+)

Alexander of Macedon's conquest of the Near East in 332 brought an end to the Persian Period and inaugurated the Hellenistic period in Palestine. Initially, the relationship was not antagonistic, and Judah was ruled for over 150 years by a succession of Hellenistic (Ptolemaic) rulers without incident.[308] In 194 BCE, the Seleucids conquered Judah after a series of major battles, but neither empire appears to have interfered directly in their subjects' religion or

302 Miller and Hayes 2006: 498; Carr 2010: 213.

303 Carr 2010: 213.

304 Carr 2010: 242.

305 Carr 2010: 212–7, 237.

306 Carr 2010: 233.

307 Miller and Hayes 2006: 538.

308 Carr 2010: 247.

forced anyone to become Greek-like (Hellenize).[309] Nonetheless, within Hellenistic cultures, Greek-educated children enjoyed privileges and opportunities unavailable to others.[310] The result was a series of revolts in the 170s BCE that protested the transformation of Jerusalem into a Greek city, and the tensions culminated in the outlawing of Judean religious culture (Judaism) in 167 BCE.[311] Some Judeans, led by the Hasmonean (or Maccabean) family of priests, launched a guerrilla offensive that culminated in the recapture and purification of the temple of Jerusalem in 164 BCE.[312] For the next seven decades, the Hasmoneans ruled Judah independently and even controlled some of Israel briefly.[313] Several signs suggest that it was the Hasmoneans who finalized the contents of what we now call the Hebrew Bible: they support the Hebrew language, and they had the authority and motive to do so.[314] The last books, such as Daniel, Esther, and Chronicles, were added to the "Torah and Prophets" collection in this period to create the final version of the Hebrew Bible that we still know today.[315]

Prevalent Identities

The Hebrew Bible contains a variety of terms to label and describe different types of people, and connections between people, according to the perception of the speaker. These terms were situated in their own networks of meaning as products of the society and culture that employed them. A few major and several minor studies have surveyed the terminology of

309 Carr 2010: 247.

310 Carr 2010: 247.

311 Carr 2010: 251.

312 Carr 2010: 253.

313 Carr 2010: 254.

314 Carr 2010: 256–7.

315 Carr 2010: 262.

the Hebrew Bible to analyze the various categories of social difference appearing within it.[316] The following survey highlights the prevalent terms for identity types in the Hebrew Bible.

As with the previous chapter, the survey is divided into kinship and place identities for convenience. In the Hebrew Bible, kinship identities include *`am* "people, nation," *goy* "people, nation," and *mishpachah* "clan, family"; place identities include markers of foreignness like *ger* "stranger, sojourner," and *nokri* "foreigner," as well as a boundary dividing the *`am golah* "people of the diaspora" and *`am ha'aretz* "people of the land" that gained tremendous importance in the later works of the bible.

Kinship identities

Kinship identities in the Hebrew Bible are numerous, and are intimately tied to the purpose and message of the collection of works. At the root of this distinction are the Hebrew terms *`am* and *goy*, terms that both mean "people" and that function in the texts as ways of referring to different social groups. Traditional biblical scholarship distinguished between *`am* as a multitude of ethnically related individuals, and *goy* as an organized, political and military entity with a central government and land so that Israel was an *`am* in Egypt, but is presented as a *goy* when the Lord promised to "make of you [Abram] a great nation" (Gen 12:2), but these distinctions have not withstood investigation and are no longer sufficient.[317] The difference between *`am* and *goy* is not often clear, and the two words can appear together without any

316 Sparks 1998 is the primary study of ethnicity in the Hebrew Bible, and an overall assessment of the state of research can be found in Miller 2008. These ideas were updated and slightly extended in Sparks 2005. For other topics, Brett 1996 provides important treatments of specialized sub-topics of "ethnicity," and Hawkins 2013 presents an alternative, non-minimalist treatment of the subject. Ben Zvi and Edelman 2014 provides specialized treatments concerning alterity. Knoppers and Ristau 2009 provides examinations of a variety of non-ethnic community types. Although the archaeological record largely falls outside the scope of the present project, the recent surveys and bibliography can be found in Edwards and McCullough 2007, Faust 2006, and Killebrew 2005, but note the cautions in Bloch-Smith 2003.

317 Berge 2014: 83; The foundational studies are Cody 1964, Speiser 1960, and Rost 1934.

apparent distinction in meaning (e.g. Exo 33:13 and Deut 4:6 [I.8]).[318]

Goy is a Biblical Hebrew term for "people" that appears over 300 times in the bible.[319] Israel is often described as a *goy* (e.g. Exo 19:6 [I.5]), but the term usually refers to non-Hebrew peoples (e.g. Exo 34:10, 1 Kgs 5:10).[320] The etymology of the term provides no special insights into its meaning.[321] People described with the term typically have an association with specific territory or a governing system, such as the famous portrayal of Israel as a *`am* "nation" among *`amim* "nations" (e.g. Deut 7:7 [I.6], 9:14 [I.7]).[322] Over the historical development of the biblical texts, the term increasingly shows the negative qualities of "foreign" as an Other that explicitly represents whatever Israel is not (e.g. Deut 7:11, Ezek 20:31, Neh 13:24 [IV.8]).[323] This accumulation is very similar to the changes the Greek *ethnos* underwent over the history of ancient Greece; not surprisingly, *ethnos* was the word most commonly used in the Septuagint (Greek Hebrew Bible) to translate *goy*.[324] With the caveat that the term is meant to be ambiguous rather than specific, it would not be inaccurate to translate *goy* as "ethno-nation(al)" in the sense described above.[325]

Another Biblical Hebrew word for "people" is *`am*.[326] *`Am* appears over 1,800 times in

318 Gravett et al. 2008: 202.

319 Strong's H1471 גּוֹי (goy).

320 BDB s.v. גּוֹי (goy).

321 BDB s.v. גּוֹי (goy). It shares a root with גַּו (gav) "the back," but the meaning of the root has never been identified.

322 Gravett et al. 2008: 202; See also Cody 1964 and Speiser 1960.

323 Gravett et al. 2008: 202.

324 Gravett et al. 2008: 202.

325 I explicitly disagree with scholars, such as Kreitzer (2008:74), who define *goy* as an ethno-national, that is an ethnic, nationalistic, category of identity. While *goyim* may have contained prototypical ethnic and nationalistic content, the term *goy* and concept it represents is not congruent to either modern concept and such associations confuse our interpretation of the ancient texts.

the bible and has less focus, appearing as the default or generic term for "people."[327] Where some kind of association appears to be implied, the term invokes notions of kinship or extended family (e.g. Neh 12:30, Jer 48:46), and some evidence suggests the term originally meant "father's brother(s)."[328] It seems likely that the word *`am* was used initially and primarily for a "named body of people."[329] Although there are several uses invoking the idea of extended kinship (e.g. Exo 31:14 [VI.2], Lev 7:20, Ezek 18:18 [VI.3]), *`am* is not consanguineous, and the motif of blood is never evoked as a boundary of peoplehood.[330] In sum, *`am* appears to be a generic way of referring to a named group of people. The suggestion that the term should be translated as "ethnic group" is untenable,[331] unless we regard it as, at most, a depiction of a mere "ethnic category" as described in chapter one (that is, a generic way of describing a categorical identity of people).

Another important category of kinship identity mentioned in the Hebrew Bible is the "family" or "clan" *mishpachah*.[332] The term could refer explicitly to an individual's literal family (e.g. Gen 24:38, 1 Sam 10:21), though it often meant an "extended family" such as a "tribe" (e.g. Judg 13:2, Exo 6:14). In some contexts, the term appears to be virtually the same thing as a *goy* (e.g. Ezek 20:32, Amos 3:2). While the term can appear as a synonym of *shebet* "tribe" (cf. 1 Sam 9:21), the term appears in a middling position in the social scheme described in Joshua

326 BDB s.v. עָם (`am).

327 Strong's H5971 עָם (`am).

328 Speiser 1960:160.

329 Fleming 2012: 61–2, 68.

330 Contra Speiser 1960:159–60; Anidjar 2014: 45 and n.51; See "Flesh and Bone" (44–9) and "Flesh and Blood" (49–53) for the significance of this observation.

331 Contra Kreitzer 2008: 78–80.

332 BDB s.v. מִשְׁפָּחָה (mishpachah).

(7:14) as tribe > family > household > man (*shebet* > *mishpachah* > *bayit* > *geber*). The underling theme to all usages of *mishpachah is* tied to the idea of kinship, and it is precisely the social bond that is emphasized by the use of the term.[333]

Place identities

Compared to the Greek corpus of texts, surprisingly few instances of place identity appear in the Hebrew Bible. Such instances primarily, though not exclusively, appear in the later works and gain increasingly in importance in the socially difficult environment after the exile.

An important place identity appearing in the Hebrew Bible is the term *ger* "sojourner," indicating one who dwells somewhere temporarily, a newcomer.[334] The term is usually singular and is generally used for an individual.[335] Abraham describes himself as a *ger* "stranger" and sojourner in the land of Canaan (Gen 23:4). Biblical Hebrew uses a number of different expressions to refer to outsiders, and most of these generally carry a negative implication, emphasizing the otherness of the persons and a separateness from the insiders.[336] Such expressions include *nokri* "foreigner" (e.g. Deut 17:15), *ben-nakar* "foreigner (lit. son of a foreigner)" (e.g. Exo 12:43), and *zar* "stranger" (e.g. Isa 1:7).[337]

Ger is special because it does not necessarily mark an individual as unwelcome. The term is often juxtaposed with its opposite, an *'ezrah* "native"; where they both appear, the *'ezrah* is

333 Gottwald 1979: 249, 257–76; Levine 2005: 192–3.

334 BDB s.v. גֵּר (ger).

335 Strong's H1616 גֵּר (ger).

336 Rendtorff 1996: 77.

337 Rendtorff 1996: 77.

highlighted explicitly as what the *ger* is not, namely a native inhabitant of the land.[338] These distinctions are important in the law codes of the Hebrew Bible, in which numerous rules govern the treatment of *gerim*, protecting them (e.g. Exo 22:21).[339] These prescriptions disappear from the later books, and interestingly the word never appears in Ezra or Nehemiah, works that are deeply concerned with relationships to foreigners.[340]

Another more explicit and divisive boundary of identity that does appear in the later books of the bible is that between the *`am golah* "people of the exile/diaspora" and the *`am ha'aretz* "people of the land.[341] It is stated most concisely in Nehemiah 10:30, "We will not give our daughters to the peoples of the land [*`am ha'aretz*] or take their daughters for our sons," and another striking example is Ezra 6:21, "it [the passover lamb] was eaten by the people of Israel who had returned from exile [*golah*], and also by every one who had joined them and separated himself from the pollutions of the peoples of the land [*goy ha'aretz*] to worship the LORD, the God of Israel."[342] Passages like these embody the kinds of identity ascription work that is being done in the later, post-exilic, books, but they are not entirely new. The phrase *`am ha'aretz* occurs in many books of the bible, applying to Abraham among the Hittites (Gen 23:7), the Israelites among the Canaanites (Num 14:9), or as the Judeans themselves (Jer 52:6); but it is specifically in contrast to the *`am golah* that it gained new significance. Passages distinguishing *`am golah* from *`am ha'aretz* articulate a seemingly impermeable distinction

338 Rendtorff 1996: 81.

339 Rendtorff 1996: 84.

340 Rendtorff 1996: 86–7.

341 See Eshkenazi 2014 for a summary and bibliography. Brett 2014 complicates this picture with a close reading of the intertextuality between Ezra-Nehemiah and the earlier texts. Cotaldo 2014 provides an important post-colonial and feminist reading containing essential critical apparatuses.

342 Cf. Brett 2014: 90; Here *`am* and *goy* are functional synonyms. See the previous section on kinship identities for details.

between two groups by drawing upon previously defined categories of identity and producing a new paradigm for socio-political engagement by interrupting previous relations of engagement.[343] These terms create a clear signal of alterity, and inscribe a new definition of Self and Other.

Late works of the Hebrew Bible use the *golah*/*ha'aretz* distinction, but with somewhat different ideological focuses, so that while Ezra-Nehemiah and Ruth could be interpreted as being primarily ethno-religious, Chronicles could be analyzed as ethno-nationalist.[344] The emphasis in the late books on a division between the *`am golah* and *`am ha'aretz* shows how the authors (re)wrote a history that supported the political domination of a single community over the land of Palestine, by redefining "Israel" to mean the *golah* community alone.[345]

Introduction to the Sources

The remainder of the chapter presents a selection of textual sources in translation, organized by ethno-symbolic marker type, in order to demonstrate the articulation of ethnic features in the corpus of books in the Hebrew Bible. Each selection is introduced, summarized, and analyzed in terms of the ethnic markers it contains.

The dating of texts in the Hebrew Bible is a notoriously controversial and complicated matter.[346] Since the present project is not concerned with a century-by-century chronological or diachronic analysis, we can avoid most of the difficulties and specifics concerning the formation of the biblical corpus. Nonetheless, developmental trends in the transmission and

343 Cotaldo 2014: 4.

344 Dych 1996: 114–6.

345 Cotaldo 2014: 3.

346 Schniedewind 2005: 17-19.

documentary history of the texts do provide us with key insights into the markers of the texts. Consequently, the following groupings will be used in order to facilitate a basic degree of relative chronology. The datings follow Carr 2010 unless otherwise indicated.

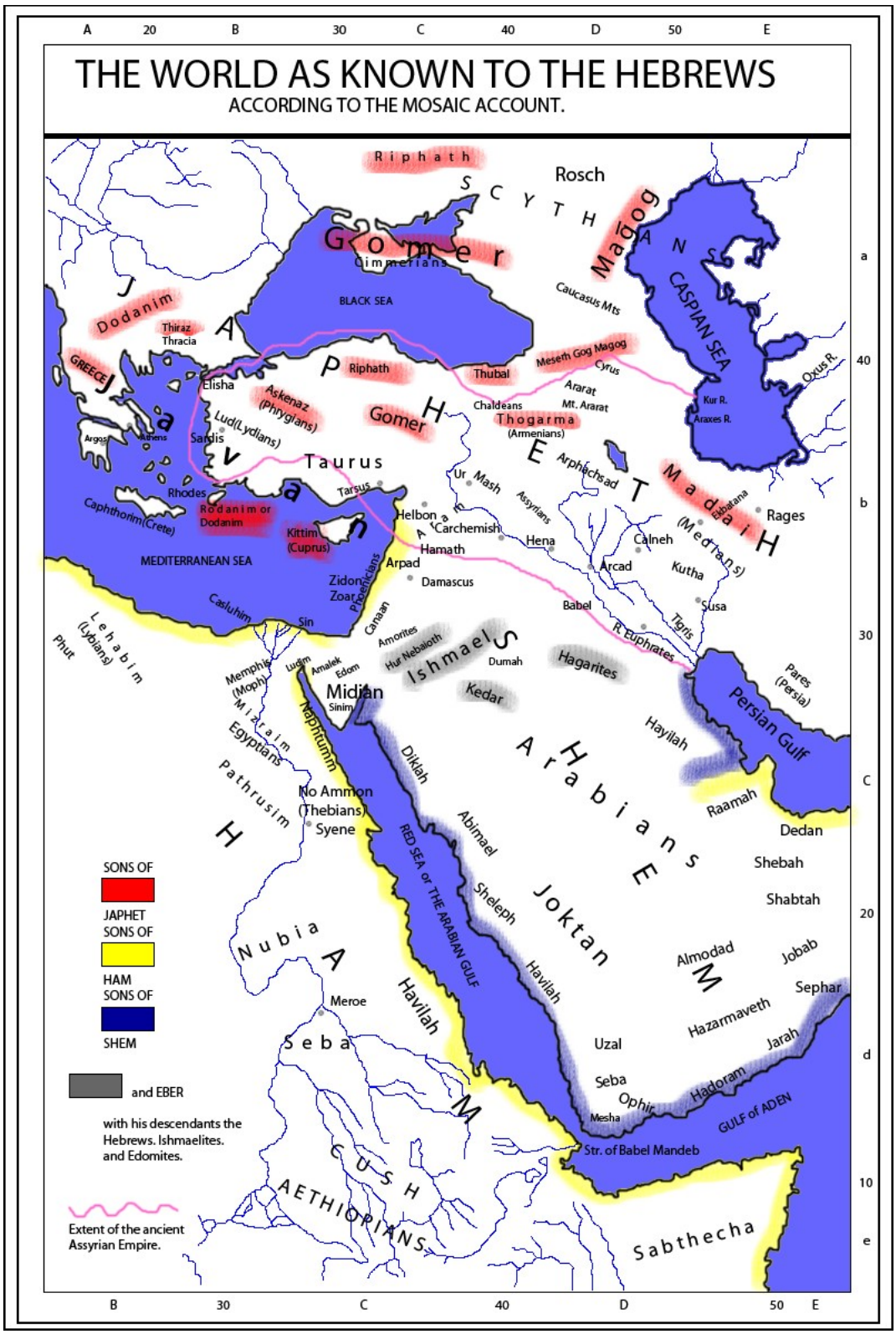
Early texts (before 722 BCE): The early biblical period roughly corresponds to the period from Judges, and perhaps earlier, through the conquest of the northern kingdom of Israel by Assyria. Traditions from this period include the Jacob and Joseph narratives, the Exodus-wilderness story, and written texts of the Song of Deborah (Judg 5) and the early prophets (Amos, Hosea, Micah, early Isaiah).

Middle texts (c. 722 – 538 BCE): The middle biblical period includes the period from Judah alone and the exile in Babylon until the conquest of Babylon by the Persian Empire. Texts from this period include the "Deuteronomistic History" (Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings), "Deutero-Isaiah" (Isa 40–55), and the later prophets (Zephaniah, Nahum, Jeremiah, Ezekiel). The Pentateuch (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy) will also be considered a "middle text" despite the fact that it was not written in its combined form until later, because the two major traditions that informed the text (lay- and priestly- sources) can be associated with this period.[347]

Late texts (c.537 – 200 BCE): The late biblical period extends from the post-exilic period until the Hellenistic period. Texts from this later period include the books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Ruth, and Esther.

347 See Schniedewind 2005 for a non-minimalistic dating of these texts. The older Documentary Hypothesis of Wellhausen and Noth featured a (Southern/Judean) Yahwistic source (J) and an (Northern/Israelite) Elohistic (E) source theory that has largely been abandoned by specialists of the Pentateuch because a) many elements of J and E link conceptually with later periods of Israel's history, and b) scholars have struggled to achieve a consensus on the identification of the contents of each source. (Carr 2010: 190, 217–22).

All translations are adapted from the RSV English translation of the Hebrew Bible except proper names, which have been adapted to conventional American English usage in order to facilitate comparison with other works.



Map 2: The worldview in Biblical Hebrew texts

Sources I: Ethnonyms

The texts of the Hebrew Bible contain a very large number of proper names representing a variety of different identity types, including ethno-national, ethno-religious, and other categorical group identity types. Ethnonyms appear for large and small groups, and their arrangement into ordered hierarchies is one of the primary objectives of different, particular narratives. Proper names for collectives of people appear in a variety of grammatical forms and contexts but occur with such frequency and regularity in the Hebrew corpus that syntactic difficulties are very rare.[348] Unfortunately, the same cannot be said about the etymology and grammatical roots of the names, which are often obscure and uncertain.

Ambiguities in the analysis of group proper names have let to continuing disagreements over the last two hundred years of biblical research. The interpretation of the name of Noah's son, Ham, is emblematic of these issues. The name has no clear etymology but may be related to the Hebrew adjective *cham* "hot," and in the past some writers have argued that it is an allusion to "black" skin color.[349] Since the 17th century CE, a common perception of Ham's "blackness" contributed to the misnomer that Noah's curse upon Canaan (Gen 9:20–27), which subjugated the future Canaanites to the Israelites, was connected to and justified the modern practice of slavery.[350] This interpretation is unfounded and relies on a false etymology of the word, a poor understanding of Hebrew philology, and an obvious political bias.[351]

---

348 The same cannot be said about the etymology and grammatical roots of names appearing in the Hebrew corpus, unfortunately. Ambiguities in the analysis of group proper names has reinforced many disagreements in the last two hundred years of biblical research. The

349 BDB s.v. חָם (cham) adjective (Strong's H2525), and s.v. חָם (cham) proper name, masculine noun, location (Strong's H2526), which states that the origin of the word is unknown; See Goldenberg 2005 for a full-length treatment of the topic.

350 Goldenberg 2005: 157, 168, 170; Morrison 1980: 16–17 describes its influence in the American Antebellum South.

351 As summarized in Goldenberg 2005: 156 — The name חָם (√ḥ-m-') is not related to Egyptian km(t) "black-land,

Ethnonyms of the Hebrew Bible are typically genealogical (descendant-names) and gentilic (place-names) simultaneously. The following passage contains several examples:

> **I.1 (Deut 7:1–2; middle text)**: "When the LORD your God brings you into the land which you are entering to take possession of it, and clears away many nations before you, the *Hittites*, the *Girgashites*, the *Amorites*, the *Canaanites*, the *Perizzites*, the *Hivites*, and the *Jebusites*, seven nations greater and mightier than yourselves, and when the LORD your God gives them over to you, and you defeat them; then you must utterly destroy them; you shall make no covenant with them, and show no mercy to them."

This iconic passage is a description of the nations (goy) said to dwell in the promised land before the arrival of the Israelites. The terms Hittites, Girgashites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites, all describe groups of people who, the texts say, lived in Palestine before the arrival of the Israelites. They are goyim, not persons, and all seven groups have ancestral founders listed in the Table of Nations (Genesis 10; II.1).[352] Canaan was a son of Ham the son of Noah, and according to Genesis, the other six goyim are all sons of Canaan. Thus the seven names are simultaneously markers of gentilic and genealogical identity. This dual identity is preserved in the English translation, which renders kanaani "Canaan-ite," Hivi "Hiv-ite" etc. A "Canaanite" is a resident of the place Canaan, or a descendant of the ancestor Canaan, and in the context of the Hebrew Bible as a collection, it is intended to be both.

Another example features the Israelites of greater Israel. The "Israelites" are the primary focus of the Hebrew Bible:

> **I.2 (Judg 6:3–4; middle text)**: For whenever the *Israelites* put in seed the

Egypt," Hebrew חוּם (√ḥ-w-m) "dark, black" or חֹם "heat" (√ḥ-w-m). They only appear similar because ḫ and ḥ were written with the same graphic sign (ח).

352 These particular names are probably a later addition to the text (cf. Deut 20:17). For discussion and bibliography see Crouch 2014: 168 n.165.

> *Midianites* and the *Amalekites* and the people of the East would come up and attack them; they would encamp against them and destroy the produce of the land, as far as the neighborhood of Gaza, and leave no sustenance in Israel, and no sheep or ox or ass.

As in the previous example, the Israelites are the residents of the place, Israel, as well as the descendants of a presumptive ancestor, in this case, Jacob/Israel (Gen 49:1–28, I.24). Additionally, the Midianites are residents of Midian as well as the descendants of Midian, son of Abraham (Gen 25:1–2). Note that the Amalekites are different from the previous examples because the name is purely genealogical. The Amalekites are said to be the descendants of Amalek, son of Eliphaz the Edomite (36:16), but they lacked any specific territory as a primarily nomadic people. Several similar groups are mentioned in the bible.[353]

In rare cases, names could also be only, or purely, gentilic:

> **I.3 (2 Kgs 24:1–2; middle text)**: In his days Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came up, and Jehoiakim became his servant three years; then he turned and rebelled against him. And the LORD sent against him bands of the *Chaldeans* [Babylonians], and bands of the Syrians [Arameans], and bands of the Moabites, and bands of the Ammonites, and sent them against Judah to destroy it, according to the word of the LORD which he spoke by his servants the prophets.

Although Babylon appears frequently in the Bible as a place name, the gentilic name "Babylonians" never explicitly appears in Biblical Hebrew.[354] The standard name for the residents of Babylonia is "Chaldean" (*kasdim*) a term which refers to the ruling population of Babylonia rather than to all the people of Babylonia. In either case, no ancestor is described as the source of the name for either the Babylonians or the Chaldeans, so the name must be

353 See Sparks 2009 for a discussion of the "nomadic" people groups: Midianites, Ishmaelites, Amelekites, Qenites, and Rechabites.

354 The gentilic "Babylonian" (*babli*) does appear once in Aramaic (Ezra 4:9). The similar term "son(s) of Babylon" (*ben-Babel*) appears in Ezek 23:15, 17, 23, but the Hebrew gentilic **babli* does not appear in the Hebrew Bible.

interpreted as purely gentilic.[355]

In addition to the noun forms seen above, adjective forms appear occasionally. In the Hebrew Bible, adjective forms of ethnonyms always describe women:

> **I.4 (1 Kgs 11:1–2; middle text)**: Now King Solomon loved many foreign women: the daughter of Pharaoh, and *Moabite*, *Ammonite*, *Edomite*, *Sidonian*, and *Hittite* women, from the nations concerning which the LORD had said to the people of Israel, "You shall not enter into marriage with them, neither shall they with you, for surely they will turn away your heart after their gods"; Solomon clung to these in love.

This passage lists six different types of women whom king Solomon loved and repeats a warning that he should not marry them. Five of them are described with ethno-national markers, and the five terms appear as (gentilic) adjectives. Grammatically, adjectival constructions of this type are rare in Biblical Hebrew, because the standard way of expressing associative relationships between nouns and geographic places is with a nominal phrase in the construct state.

Primarily two terms are used to characterize people groups in the Hebrew Bible: *`am* and *goy*. These were discussed at length above. The next four passages show interesting ways that these terms are used to arrange identities into hierarchical schemes.

Sometimes, the bible appears to use the terms *`am* and *goy* to define or describe a specific

355 Donald Redford has given compelling reasons why we might want to consider Arpachad as the bible's ancestral founder of Babylon (Redford 1992: 405). Even if he is right, neither the Babylonians nor the Chaldeans are called *Arpachadites.

social hierarchy, such as in this passage where Israel (the house of Jacob) is described as a *goy*:

> **I.5 (Exo 19:3-6; middle text)**: And Moses went up to God, and the LORD called to him out of the mountain, saying, "Thus you shall say to the house of Jacob, and tell the people of Israel: You have seen what I did to the Egyptians, and how I bore you on eagles' wings and brought you to myself. Now therefore, if you will obey my voice and keep my covenant, you shall be my own possession among all peoples [*`anim*]; for all the earth is mine, and you shall be to me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation [*goy*]. These are the words which you shall speak to the children of Israel."

Yahweh is speaking to Moses, explaining a vision of the future. In this vision, which Moses is instructed to tell the Israelites, he says that Israel (you) shall become a special nation (*goy*) from among all the (possible) peoples (*`am*) of the earth. The passage describes the elevation of an *`am* to a special position as *goy*.

Similarly, passages in Deuteronomy highlight the Israelites as a "nation among nations" and therefore special:

> **I.6 (Deut 7:7; middle text):** It was not because you were more in number than any other people [*`am*] that the LORD set his love upon you and chose you, for you were the fewest of all peoples [*`aimim*]
>
> **I.7 (Deut 9:13–4; middle text)**: "Furthermore the LORD said to me, I have seen this people [*`am*], and behold, it is a stubborn people [*`am*]; let me alone, that I may destroy them and blot out their name from under heaven; and I will make of you a nation [*goy*] mightier and greater than they.

In both passages, Moses is detailing and explaining the laws and ordinances Yahweh expects of the people of Israel. In the first passage, he highlights the Israelites' specialness: they were selected as the chosen people despite their small population. Moses identifies the Israelites as an *`am* among *`amim*, at least in the past.

In the second passage, Moses is describing the words of Yahweh, who called the Israelites a "stubborn *`am*" who did not remember the laws. He explains that Yahweh plans to destroy them, as a people (*`am*), and transform them into a mightier and greater nation (*goy*). A passage like this suggests that *goy* are social constructions, more complex than the generic *`am*.

Elsewhere, the terms *`am* and *goy* do not appear to have any hierarchical significance:

> **I.8 (Deut 4:6; middle text)**: Keep them and do them; for that will be your wisdom and your understanding in the sight of the peoples [*`amim*], who, when they hear all these statutes, will say, Surely this great nation [*goy*] is a wise and understanding people [*`am*].

Moses is describing the statutes and ordinances commanded by Yahweh for the people of Israel. He anticipates the words of gratitude the Israelites will speak and says that they will exclaim Israel is several things, including both a *goy* and an *`am*. The phrasing evokes no special understanding or relationship, and passages like this make the terms appear interchangeable.

In sum, the terms *goy* and *`am* appear to have fluid definitions with relative meanings that rely on the context for their interpretation. Different groups can be described various as either *`am*, *goy*, or both, without any independent significance; thus one cannot produce a table of *`amim* and *goyim*, but rather must look at each sentence for contextual clues in order to interpret any signals of hierarchy.

The Table of Nations (II.1) provides the division and classification of peoples in the

Hebrew Bible that had become traditional by, at the latest, the final period of the formation of the Hebrew Bible. Both language and geography influence the shape of the organizational scheme. See below for a discussion of this important passage, but geography is a recurring theme in several other texts as well.

A geographic location becomes part of the identity of a people when it is claimed or "owned" by the group as part of a narrative. Narratives of this time are a frequent and recurring theme of the Hebrew Bible, as the following two examples demonstrate:

> **I.9 (Gen 34:30; middle text)**: Then Jacob said to Simeon and Levi, "You have brought trouble on me by making me odious to the inhabitants of the land, the Canaanites and the Perizzites; my numbers are few, and if they gather themselves against me and attack me, I shall be destroyed, both I and my household."
>
> **I.10 (Deut 4:1; middle text)**: "And now, O Israel, give heed to the statutes and the ordinances which I teach you, and do them; that you may live, and go in and take possession of the land [Canaan] which the LORD, the God of your fathers, gives you.

Jacob complains in the first passage of the danger his sons have created as a result of their revenge killing of the men of Shechem in the affair of the marriage of their sister to the Hivite prince, who had "defiled" her. In Jacob's exclamation, the Canaanites and Perizzites are highlighted as the people of the land. Jacob and his family also technically inhabit the land, but it is the Canaanite and Perizzites that are identified as belonging to the land. It is their territory.

Similarly, in the second passage, Moses prepares to describe the ordinances and statues by which the Israelites will be bound, and he prefaces the description with the promise that a land will be available to them for possession. It will become their property. The motif of the

"promised land" is an important one in the narrative of Israelite identity, and appears frequently in several books of the bible.

The next ten excerpts feature most of the primary non-Israelite ethno-national names that occur in the Hebrew Bible. As ethno-national groups, they are associated with a specific territory, although they are not always mentioned as such in every example listed below.

Egyptians:

> **I.11 (Gen 39:1; middle text)**: Now Joseph was taken down to Egypt, and Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh, the captain of the guard, an Egyptian, bought him from the Ishmaelites who had brought him down there.

The Egyptians (*mitsri*) were the ancient people of the Nile, located in the northeastern corner of Africa. Their civilization was ancient compared to that of the Israelite characters. According to the Book of Exodus, the descendants of Jacob/Israel dwelt in Egypt for generations before departing in the Exodus. The bible describes the Egyptians variously as friends and foes at different points in the historical narrative, but they are always an important neighboring people. The quoted excerpt mentions both Egypt (*mitsrayim*), the land, and the Egyptians, the people.

Canaanites:

> **I.12 (Gen 10:19; middle text)**: And the territory of the Canaanites extended from Sidon, in the direction of Gerar, as far as Gaza, and in the direction of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, and Zeboiim, as far as Lasha.

The biblical accounts portray the Canaanites as the hostile indigenous inhabitants of Canaan who are the major obstacle to Israel's attempt to claim their "promised land." The texts

distinguish between the idol-worshipping Canaanites and the Yahweh-worshipping Israelites, whose origins are described as lying outside of Canaan.[356]

Philistines:

> **I.13 (Josh 13:2–3; middle text)**: This is the land that yet remains [to be possessed]: all the regions of the Philistines, and all those of the Geshurites (from the Shihor, which is east of Egypt, northward to the boundary of Ekron, it is reckoned as Canaanite; there are five rulers of the Philistines, those of Gaza, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Gath, and Ekron), and those of the Avvim, […]

In the Hebrew Bible, the Philistines are described as a people dwelling in the region of Canaan, but unlike the Canaanites, they would not be displaced or destroyed by the Israelites. Nonetheless, the texts portray the Philistines as the primary enemy of the Israelites prior to the rise of the Assyrian Empire after their entry into the "promised land," and the two groups are depicted in a state of almost constant war. The extra-biblical identity of the Philistines is a controversial and difficult topic, but on the basis of pottery finds and urban plans, they appear to be related to cultures in the area of the Aegean Sea who settled the southern coastland of Palestine and built or occupied the cities of Gaza, Ashdod, and Ekron.[357]

Edomites:

> **I.14 (2 Sam 8:14; middle text)**: And he put garrisons in Edom; throughout all Edom he put garrisons, and all the Edomites became David's servants. And the LORD gave victory to David wherever he went.

The Edomites occupied the land south of Judah, Moab, and the Dead Sea, according to the bible. In some episodes they are described as enemies during war, but in other periods they are vassals of unified Israel or later the kingdom of Judah. When the Babylonians exiled the ruling

356 Killebrew 2005: 93.

357 Killebrew 2005: 206–8.

family of Jerusalem, the Edomites helped plunder the city and killed Judeans, acts for which the Judean prophets intensely condemned them (cf. Obadiah).

Moabites:

> **I.15 (Judg 3:28; middle text)**: And he said to them, "Follow after me; for the LORD has given your enemies the Moabites into your hand." So they went down after him, and seized the fords of the Jordan against the Moabites, and allowed not a man to pass over.

The bible describes the Moabites as dwelling north of Edom, south of Ammon, and east of Judah in the mountainous regions of present day Jordan. As with the Edomites, the Moabites are described as existing both peacefully and hostilely with the Israelites.

Assyrians:

> **I.16 (Isa 10:24; early text):** Therefore thus says the Lord, the LORD of hosts: "O my people, who dwell in Zion, be not afraid of the Assyrians when they smite with the rod and lift up their staff against you as the Egyptians did.

The Assyrian Empire was a large territorial state and empire of the Ancient Near East, centered on the Tigris River in northern Mesopotamia, that invaded and destroyed the northern kingdom of Israel in 719 BCE. The biblical texts say little specifically about Assyrian identity, and almost every instance mentioning them is in reference to their actions as an empire and regional power.

Babylonians:

> **I.17 (2 Kgs 25:13; middle text)**: And the pillars of bronze that were in the house [temple] of the LORD, and the stands and the bronze sea that were in the house of the LORD, the Chaldeans [Babylonians] broke in pieces, and carried the bronze to Babylon.
>
> **I.18 (Ezek 23:15; middle text)**: girded with belts on their loins, with flowing turbans on their heads, all of them looking like officers, a picture of Babylonians

[lit. “sons of Babylon] whose native land was Chaldea.

I.19 (Hab 1:5-9: middle text): For lo, I am rousing the Chaldeans, that bitter and hasty nation, who march through the breadth of the earth, to seize habitations not their own. Dread and terrible are they; their justice and dignity proceed from themselves. [...] They all come for violence; terror of them goes before them. They gather captives like sand.

The Babylonians are primarily described as “Chaldeans” in the bible (see I.3 above). The Babylonian Empire replaced the Assyrian Empire as the dominant power of the Near East in 612 BCE, and the Babylonians are described in much the same way as the Assyrians, resulting in a primary focus on their actions as an empire and regional power.

Amorites:

I.20 (Num 13:29; middle text): The Amalekites dwell in the land of the Negeb; the Hittites, the Jebusites, and the Amorites dwell in the hill country; and the Canaanites dwell by the sea, and along the Jordan."

I.21 (Amos 2:9; early text): "Yet I destroyed the Amorite before them, whose height was like the height of the cedars, and who was as strong as the oaks; I destroyed his fruit above, and his roots beneath.

Biblical texts describe the Amorites as highland mountaineers that dwelt in the land of Canaan and east of the Jordan river. They were listed among the peoples of Canaan to be displaced by the Israelites (cf. I.1 above).

Midianites:

I.22 (Judg 7:7; middle text): And the Midianites and the Amalekites and all the people of the East lay along the valley like locusts for multitude; and their camels were without number, as the sand which is upon the seashore for multitude.

The Midianites were a nomadic people who typically lived south of Edom in the Arabian

peninsula.[358] The Israelites have intermittent interactions with them in the biblical texts, initially as hostile enemies and later as traders. See also I.2 above.

Ammonites:

> **I.23 (Judg 10:9; middle text)**: And the Ammonites crossed the Jordan to fight also against Judah and against Benjamin and against the house of Ephraim; so that Israel was sorely distressed.

The bible describes the Ammonites as dwelling north of Moab and east of the northern kingdom of Israel. They are a frequent enemy of the Israelites.

The final ethnonyms to be surveyed are those signaling sub-categories of a larger group, namely that of the various "tribes" (*shevatim*) of Israelites. The tribes of Israelites are described, literally, as the twelve sons of Israel/Jacob.

> **I.24 (Gen 49:1–28; middle text)**: Then Jacob called his sons, and said, "Gather yourselves together, that I may tell you what shall befall you in days to come. [...] Reuben [...] Simeon [...] Levi [...] Judah [...] Dan [...] Naphtali [...] Gad[...] Asher [...] Issachar [...] Zebulun [...] Joseph [...] Benjamin [...] All these are the twelve tribes of Israel; and this is what their father said to them as he blessed them, blessing each with the blessing suitable to him.

Each of the sons is the ancestral founder of one of the tribes of Israel—with the exception of Joseph, whose two sons, Mannasseh and Ephraim, were adopted by Israel/Jacob in the previous chapter (Gen 48:1), and become the "founders" of their own Israelite tribes.

The relationship between "tribes" and smaller categories is outlined in the following famous passage:

> **I.25 (Josh 7:14; middle text)**: [O Israel:] In the morning therefore you shall be

358 Sparks 2009: 12–7.

> brought near by your tribes; and the tribe [*shebet*] which the LORD takes shall come near by families [*mishpachah*]; and the family which the LORD takes shall come near by households [*bayit*]; and the household which the LORD takes shall come near man [*geber*] by man.

Yahweh is outlining an organizational principle to Joshua and ranks tribes over families, families over households, and households over individuals. It is a social doctrine assigns places priority to the community over the individual, but it is interesting to see the how social sub-categories are utilized to express the point.

Sources II: Ethnic ancestor myths

Ancestor myths are a crucially important motif in the Hebrew Bible. As we saw in Sources I, almost every biblical ethnonym is also a descendant-name. The primary narrative describing the connection and interrelationships between the extended family of ancestral founders, and by extension the whole of humankind, can be found in the portion of Genesis called the Table of Nations. The following excerpt contains the full Table of Nations:

> **II.1 (Gen 10:1–32; middle text)**: 1 These are the generations of the sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japheth; sons were born to them after the flood. 2 The sons of Japheth: Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, and Tiras. 3 The sons of Gomer: Ashkenaz, Riphath, and Togarmah. 4 The sons of Javan: Elishah, Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim. 5 From these the coastland peoples spread. These are the sons of Japheth in their lands, each with his own language, by their families, in their nations. 6 The sons of Ham: Cush, Egypt, Put, and Canaan. 7 The sons of Cush: Seba, Havilah, Sabtah, Raamah, and Sabteca. The sons of Raamah: Sheba and Dedan. 8 Cush became the father of Nimrod; he was the first on earth to be a mighty man. 9 He was a mighty hunter before the LORD; therefore it is said, "Like Nimrod a mighty hunter before the LORD." 10 The beginning of his kingdom was Babel, Erech, and Accad, all of them in the land of Shinar. 11 From that land he went into Assyria, and built Nineveh, Rehoboth-Ir, Calah, and 12 Resen between Nineveh and Calah; that is the great city. 13 Egypt became the father of Ludim, Anamim, Lehabim, Naph-tuhim, 14 Pathrusim, Casluhim (whence came the Philistines), and Caphtorim. 15 Canaan became the father of Sidon his first-born, and Heth, 16 and the Jebusites, the Amorites, the Girgashites, 17 the Hivites, the Arkites, the Sinites, 18 the Arvadites, the Zemarites, and the Hamathites. Afterward the families of the

> Canaanites spread abroad. 19 And the territory of the Canaanites extended from Sidon, in the direction of Gerar, as far as Gaza, and in the direction of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, and Zeboiim, as far as Lasha. 20 These are the sons of Ham, by their families, their languages, their lands, and their nations. 21 To Shem also, the father of all the children of Eber, the elder brother of Japheth, children were born. 22 The sons of Shem: Elam, Asshur, Arpachshad, Lud, and Aram. 23 The sons of Aram: Uz, Hul, Gether, and Mash. 24 Arpachshad became the father of Shelah; and Shelah became the father of Eber. 25 To Eber were born two sons: the name of the one was Peleg, for in his days the earth was divided, and his brothers name was Joktan. 26 Joktan became the father of Almodad, Sheleph, Hazarmaveth, Jerah, 27 Hadoram, Uzal, Diklah, 28 Obal, Abima-el, Sheba, 29 Ophir, Havilah, and Jobab; all these were the sons of Joktan. 30 The territory in which they lived extended from Mesha in the direction of Sephar to the hill country of the east. 31 These are the sons of Shem, by their families, their languages, their lands, and their nations. 32 These are the families of the sons of Noah, according to their genealogies, in their nations; and from these the nations spread abroad on the earth after the flood.

Beginning with the sole family to survive the great flood, the sons of Noah and their descendants repopulate the earth. The arrangement and ordering of the names is not arbitrary and many connections can be deduced as the motivation behind their placement. The sons of Japheth, where they can be identified, all have northern geographic associations, the sons of Ham all have southern geographic associations, for example (see map, above). Making a correspondence between each name and a non-biblical historical group is not yet possible, so while the general patterns of organization is recognizable, many problems prevent a comprehensive reading.[359] For example: Uz appears three times, Babylon is strikingly absent, and it is unclear to what country Arpachshad refers. The text clearly sets out to be a description of the people of the entire world, a kind of universal genealogy, and the branching and emphasis given to particular lines leaves no doubt about where the reader is supposed to be a son of Judah.[360]

359 Crüsemann 1996: 59–62.

360 Crüsemann 1996: 65.

What is the purpose of such a text? One key appears shortly after the Table in Genesis, where a theological evaluation of all the nations is given:

> **II.2 (Gen 12:1-3; middle text)**: Now the LORD said to Abram, "Go from your country and your kindred and your fathers house to the land that I will show you. And I will make of you a great nation, and I will bless you, and make your name great, so that you will be a blessing. I will bless those who bless you, and him who curses you I will curse; and by you all the families of the earth shall bless themselves."

Yahweh speaks to Abram (Abraham) and tells him to separate himself from his country, his kindred, and his fathers house, echoing the organizational principles we saw above (I.25), and to go elsewhere and become something else. Set against the background of the genealogies of all nations, such a statement isolates and then elevates Abraham as selected and special, so that he may go forth and make a new, great, nation. All Abrahamites receive a mediating role for Yahweh's blessing on the whole human race, which consists of many different peoples.[361]

Sources III: Ethnic histories

From a certain perspective, the entire collection of the Hebrew Bible is a history for the ethno-religious community of the Yahwist Judeans. Individual works refine and clarify specifically what it means to be Yahwist and, later, Judean, and the historical texts, the Books of Kings and the Books of Chronicles, provide explicit histories of that ethno-religious group. There is no shortage of heroes, events, or their commemorations that could be featured as markers of ethnic history.

The following examples highlight three of the many different ways the bible illustrates

361 Crüsemann 1996: 73.

shared historical memories.

The kings of the northern kingdom of Israel and the southern kingdom of Judah, when they work together as allies, often do so out of a shared sense of community:

> **III.1 (2 Kgs 3:6–7; middle text)**: So King Jehoram marched out of Samaria at that time and mustered all Israel. And he went and sent word to Jehoshaphat king of Judah, "The king of Moab has rebelled against me; will you go with me to battle against Moab?" And he said, "I will go; I am as you are, my people [`*am*] as your people [ `*am*], my horses as your horses."

Jehoshaphat of Jerusalem agrees to work with Jehoram of Samaria against the king of Moab, for Jehoram's sake, because they are alike, their people are the same, and their horses even similar. They are sons of greater Israel. They are Israelites.

The history continues into the exilic period with the Books of Chronicles, which uses the same genealogical tradition from Genesis to express an ethnic history of the exiles as the twelve tribes of Israel:

> **III.2 (1 Chr 1:1–9; late text)**: (1:1-2) Adam, Seth, Enosh; Kenan, Ma-halalel, Jared; [...] (2:1-4) These are the sons of Israel: Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, Dan, Joseph, Benjamin, Naphtali, Gad, and Asher. The sons of Judah [...] (3:1)These are the sons of David [...] (4:1) The sons of Judah [...] (5:1-3) The sons of Reuben the first-born of Israel (for he was the first-born; but because he polluted his fathers couch, his birthright was given to the sons of Joseph the son of Israel, so that he is not enrolled in the genealogy according to the birthright; though Judah became strong among his brothers and a prince was from him, yet the birthright belonged to Joseph), the sons of Reuben, the first-born of Israel: [...] (6:1) The sons of Levi [...] The sons of Kohath [...] Amram [...] the father of [...], [...], [...] and Jehozadak went into exile when the LORD sent Judah and Jerusalem into exile by the hand of Nebuchadnezzar. (7:1-4) The sons of Issachar [...] Tola [...] Uzzi [...] and along with them, by their generations, according to their fathers houses, were units of the army for war, thirty-six

> thousand, for they had many wives and sons. [...] (8:1-40) Benjamin was the father of Bela his first-born, Ashbel the second, Aharah the third, [...] These are the sons of Ehud (they were heads of fathers houses of the inhabitants of Geba, and they were carried into exile to Manahath) [...] (40) The sons of Ulam were men who were mighty warriors, bowmen, having many sons and grandsons, one hundred and fifty. All these were Benjaminites. (9:1-4) So all Israel was enrolled by genealogies; and these are written in the Book of the Kings of Israel. And Judah was taken into exile in Babylon because of their unfaithfulness. Now the first to dwell again in their possessions in their cities were Israel, the priests, the Levites, and the temple servants. And some of the people of Judah, Benjamin, Ephraim, and Manasseh dwelt in Jerusalem: Uthai the son of Ammihud, son of Omri, son of Imri, son of Bani, from the sons of Perez the son of Judah.

The book begins at the dawn of time with the original man and continues down through the generations all the way to the tribes of Israel before focusing on the descendants of the tribe of Judah that went into exile in Babylon. The genealogy associates various groups with various lands and creates a historical, geographic picture of the Israelites of the past. Unlike the contemporaneous Ezra-Nehemiah narrative, which also features genealogies but focuses on the exilic origins of the Judeans, the Chronicler is describing a picture of the Judeans as one tribe in the whole community of Israelites.[362]

Ethnic treasons are another way of demonstrating the history of the community:

> **III.3 (Josh 7:1, 19-21, 25; middle text)**: But the people of Israel broke faith in regard to the devoted things; for Achan the son of Carmi, son of Zabdi, son of Zerah, of the tribe of Judah, took some of the devoted things; and the anger of the LORD burned against the people of Israel. [...] Then Joshua said to Achan, "My son, give glory to the LORD God of Israel, and render praise to him; and tell me now what you have done; do not hide it from me." And Achan answered Joshua, "Of a truth I have sinned against the LORD God of Israel, and this is what I did: when I saw among the spoil a beautiful mantle from Shinar, and two hundred shekels of silver, and a bar of gold weighing fifty shekels, then I coveted them, and took them; and behold, they are hidden in the earth inside my tent,

362 Dych 1996: 105–6; cf. Ezra 9, Neh 9, 13

> with the silver underneath." [...] And Joshua said, "Why did you bring trouble on us? The LORD brings trouble on you today." And all Israel stoned him with stones; they burned them [sic] with fire, and stoned them [sic] with stones.

During the conquest narrative of Joshua, the Israelites have won their first battle in their conquest of Canaan. Yahweh had forbidden the taking of any of the items of the city except for some high value treasures that were to be donated to the Yahweh's treasury, but Achan violated the order and took a Shinaran (Sumerian) mantle, some silver and some gold. Upon learning this, Joshua warns that all the Israelites will be punished as a result of Achan's transgression. The Israelites stone Achan to death, and raised a mound of stones on his grave, presumably as a reminder, so Yahweh's anger against the Israelites "turned" (Josh 7:26) and he spared them.

The passage is interesting as a demonstration of community boundaries. First, the warning of collective punishment that would befall the Israelites for the transgression marks the ethno-religious character of the command, but secondly, the community's decision to remove Achan from the community, by killing him with stones, is a demonstration of community-consciousness in action. The Israelites killed Achan to protect themselves, as a group, from Yahweh. A spiritual sin, in this case, could also be an ethnic treason.

Unlike the Greek texts, the Hebrew Bible contains no explicit non-Judean historical narratives. While scholars do recognize "northern traditions" in the early and middle period texts,[363] as well as the influence of broader Ancient Near Eastern influences in all three biblical periods, the texts do not explicitly mark any of these traditions as alternative narratives.

363 An excellent survey and analysis appears in Fleming 2012.

Sources IV: Ethnic cultural elements

The texts of the Hebrew Bible contain descriptions of many ethnic cultural elements, but the descriptions overwhelmingly involve a pro-Yahwist bias in keeping with the ethno-religious purpose of the collection.

The Israelite monotheism of Yahweh is perhaps best characterized as follows:

> **IV.1 (Isa 45:1-6; middle text)**: Thus says the LORD to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have grasped, to subdue nations before him and ungird the loins of kings, to open doors before him that gates may not be closed: "I will go before you and level the mountains, I will break in pieces the doors of bronze and cut asunder the bars of iron, I will give you the treasures of darkness and the hoards in secret places, that you may know that it is I, the LORD, the God of Israel, who call you by your name. For the sake of my servant Jacob, and Israel my chosen, I call you by your name, I surname you, though you do not know me. I am the LORD, and there is no other, besides me there is no God; I gird you, though you do not know me, that men may know, from the rising of the sun and from the west, that there is none besides me; I am the LORD, and there is no other.

In an oracle presumably being given to Cyrus, the king of the Persian Empire, Yahweh introduces himself as the god of the Israelites and the one and only true god. It predicts that Cyrus will defeat (foreign) nations and kings, smash barriers, and take treasures from hidden places, but specifies that he will achieve these deeds only with the help of the god of Israel. The oracle declares: Yahweh is a specific deity, and he is connected to the Israelites.[364] Written in a book of prophecy, the message of the oracle was aimed at an Israelite audience, providing a succinct description of the monotheism of Yahweh, an Israelite god so great that his power could affect even the king of the Persian Empire.

364 The unambiguous expressions of Israelite monotheism are a relatively late development in Israel's recorded history, and represent only one of form of deity worship in the history of Israel (Bloch-Smith 2003: 404; Smith 1990: 7–12; Smith 2001: 151–154).

The cults of other deities are rarely described with details, and those details that appear are always described negatively, as in the following example:

> **IV.2 (Deut 12:29-31; middle text):** "When the LORD your God cuts off before you the nations whom you go in to dispossess, and you dispossess them and dwell in their land, take heed that you be not ensnared to follow them, after they have been destroyed before you, and that you do not inquire about their gods, saying, 'How did these nations serve their gods?—that I also may do likewise.' You shall not do so to the LORD your God; for every abominable thing which the LORD hates they have done for their gods; for they even burn their sons and their daughters in the fire to their gods.

Moses is describing the ordinances the Israelites must keep when they occupy the land given to them by Yahweh. He warns that the other nations have their own gods, and in the names of those gods they do all the terrible things that Yahweh dislikes, including sacrificing and burning children.

Another text says that each people has its own god:

> **IV.3 (Mic 4:5; early text)**: For all the peoples walk each in the name of its god, but we will walk in the name of the LORD our God for ever and ever.

The prophet Micah is addressing the Judeans after the destruction of the northern kingdom of Israel by the Assyrians. The passage says that each people has a deity whom they obey, "our" (Judean) god is the Lord (Yahweh), and we (Judeans) will obey him forever.

Costume and dress could also be cultural markers, but they are rarely described in the Hebrew Bible:

> **IV.4 (Num 15:38-9; middle text)**: "Speak to the people of Israel, and bid them to make tassels on the corners of their garments throughout their generations, and to put upon the tassel of each corner a cord of blue; and it shall be to you a tassel to look upon and remember all the commandments of the LORD, to do them, not to follow after your own heart and your own eyes, which you are inclined to go after wantonly.

Moses is communicating the ordinances of Yahweh to the Israelites as they are preparing to enter into the "promised land." He instructs them to wear a costume accessory, tassels [*tsitsit*] on their garments, as a reminder of their membership in the ethno-religious community of Yahweh.

Festivals and holidays also serve as important cultural markers, and appear more frequently in the bible than costumes. Two iconic examples include Passover and the Sabbath.

The holiday commemorating the Exodus, "Passover," is described as:

> **IV.5 (Exo 12:14-17; middle text)**: "This day [the LORD's Passover] shall be for you a memorial day, and you shall keep it as a feast to the LORD; throughout your generations you shall observe it as an ordinance for ever. Seven days you shall eat unleavened bread; on the first day you shall put away leaven out of your houses, for if any one eats what is leavened, from the first day until the seventh day, that person shall be cut off from Israel. On the first day you shall hold a holy assembly, and on the seventh day a holy assembly; no work shall be done on those days; but what every one must eat, that only may be prepared by you. And you shall observe the feast of unleavened bread, for on this very day I brought your hosts out of the land of Egypt: therefore you shall observe this day, throughout your generations, as an ordinance for ever.

Moses is expressing the instructions of Yahweh and the details of the week-long celebration of passover. A warning clarifies that a person shall be cut off from the community of Israelites if these acts are not performed correctly. It is a requirement for membership in the group.

Similarly, the holiday of rest, the Sabbath, is described as follows:

> **IV.6 (Exo 20:8-11; middle text)**: "Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy. Six days you shall labor, and do all your work; but the seventh day is a sabbath to the LORD your God; in it you shall not do any work, you, or your son, or your daughter, your manservant, or your maidservant, or your cattle, or the sojourner who is within your gates; for in six days the LORD made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that is in them, and rested the seventh day; therefore the LORD blessed the sabbath day and hallowed it.

Moses is, once again, expressing an instruction communicated to him by Yahweh. This passage is fourth of the laws in the so-called "Ten Commandments." The instruction is to rest on the seventh day of every week.

Language is often an important cultural marker of identity, as the next three excerpts illustrate.

The Book of Genesis describes language as one of the primary markers of difference for humankind:

> **IV.7 (Gen 10:4-5; middle text)** The sons of Javan: Elishah, Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim. From these the coastland peoples spread. These are the sons of Japheth in their lands, *each with his own language, by their families, in their nations.*

Japheth is called a son of Noah in the early generations after the biblical flood. At the end of the section describing his sons, the criterion for their difference is described explicitly as language [*lashon*], family [*mishpachah*], and nation [*goy*]. Interestingly, Javan is generally considered the ancestor of the Greeks ("Ion" or Ionian), and his sons are Elishah (Cyprus "Alashiyah"), Tarshish (Tarsus?), Kittim (Kition), Dodanim (Rhodes).[365]

365 Rainey and Notley 2006: 21.

Language is described as an explicit marker of identity in Nehemiah:

> **IV.8 (Neh 13:23-4; late text)**: In those days also I saw the Jews who had married women of Ashdod, Ammon, and Moab; and half of their children spoke the language of Ashdod, and they could not speak the language of Judah, but the language of each people.

The prophet Nehemiah describes language as a marker of identity which has become politicized. Ashdod, Ammon, and Moab spoke Hebrew, but they their dialects were different from Judah's. Nehemiah portrays Judeans who speak non-Judean Hebrew negatively.

A famous example of the significance of language as a marker of identity is the Shibboleth episode:

> **IV.9 (Judg 12: 5-6; middle text)**: And the Gileadites took the fords of the Jordan against the Ephraimites. And when any of the fugitives of Ephraim said, "Let me go over," the men of Gilead said to him, "Are you an Ephraimite?" When he said, "No," they said to him, "Then say Shibboleth," and he said, "Sibboleth," for he could not pronounce it right; then they seized him and slew him at the fords of the Jordan. And there fell at that time forty-two thousand of the Ephraimites.

Gileadites and Ephraimites spoke different dialects of Biblical Hebrew, but the Ephraimites lacked the phoneme /sh/. In the story, fugitive tried to deny their identity as Ephraimites so they were asked to pronounce *shibbolet*, a word for a part of a plant. When the fugutives said *sib-bolet* instead of *shib-bolet*, the Gileadites knew that they were Ephraimite and killed them. Language markers, in this case, were a matter of life and death.

Finally, synthetic descriptions of complete cultures are totally lacking in the corpus of the

Hebrew Bible. Prescriptive outlines of Yahwist and Judean cultures appear as the different law codes that appear in various works, but it is debatable how completely a prescriptive law code can describe an entire culture. The major examples of law codes in the Hebrew Bible are the Decalogue or "Ten Commandments" (Exo 20:1–17, Deut 5:4–21), the Deuteronomic Code (Deut 12–22), the Covenant Code (Exo 20:19–23:33), and the Holiness Code (Lev 17–26).[366]

Sources V: Ethnic homelands

Homelands often function as important markers of identity, and the Hebrew Bible is full of geographic references that function as markers of identity. We have already seen several examples in the quoted excerpts above, including: I.1, I.2, I.9, I.10, I.12, I.13, I.20, which all mention the homelands of specific peoples. The Table of Nations (II.1) creates a picture of universal humanity that is organized, in part, by geographic principles that assign a place, or homeland, to each of the named peoples. Ethnic homelands are easy to find in the biblical texts.

In addition to the homelands already mentioned, the iconic homeland of the Hebrew Bible is, of course, the "promised land" of the land of Israel, in Canaan:

> **V.1 (Deut 1:8; middle text)**: Behold, I have set the land before you [Israelites]; go in and take possession of the land which the LORD swore to your fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, to give to them and to their descendants after them.'

Moses is describing the words of Yahweh who appointed the land to be taken by the Israelites in fulfillment of earlier covenants to be their homeland.

366 Carr 2010: 139, 79, 138, 200 respectively.

An interesting point to consider is a corollary of the exodus-narrative and concept of the Promised Land. The land of Israel was previously possessed by others, and then it passed into the possession of Israel; a fact that highlights the notion that ownership of land could change. The territory of people, in other words: where they live and control, can certainly change; however, homelands cannot. A homeland is fixed to a particular identity and a particular place to lose the geographic identifier is to begin changing the concept to which it refers. So long as a group continues to identify itself with a particular homeland, that identity remains salient regardless of whether or not the land is possessed in any practical sense. This is how Judeans could claim a homeland in Judah despite living in exile, and it became a justification for the administrative changes Nehemiah and Ezra attempted during the Persian Period.

Biblical texts express an awareness of the difference between a physical presence in a land and a (symbolic) homeland. An important example of this awareness refers to the Philistines and Arameans:

> **V.2 (Amos 9:7; early text)**: "Are you not like the Ethiopians to me, O people of Israel?" says the LORD. "Did I not bring up Israel from the land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Caphtor and the Syrians from Kir?

The prophet Amos is communicating the words of Yahweh, and compares the Israelites to Ethiopians [Cushites], Philistines, and Syrians [Arameans]. The passage expresses the idea that the Philistines and Syrians were not native to the regions they now occupy, and that the Israelites similarly relocated when they were brought out of Egypt. Although Philistines and Arameans currently dwell in Palestine. Their original homelands were elsewhere.

Source VI: Ethnic solidarities

The books of the Hebrew Bible contain innumerable examples of ethnic solidarity, like

the Greek documentation, despite the relative difficulty of finding such expressions in ancient sources because of the size and quality of the literary documents in the collection. As with the other marker types, the abundance of examples is almost certainly due to the identity-defining purpose of the collection itself, and demonstrations of solidarity are an important part of that purpose.

The idea of extended kinship recurs throughout the Hebrew Bible. This is the idea that some manner of kinship extends beyond the boundaries of family relations,; it is an idea expressed as “peoplehood” in the bible. Peoplehood has been discussed extensively above, and examples are discussed as sources I.6, I.7, and I.8.

Loyalty to the community of extended kin is a paradigmatic form of ethnic solidarity. An iconic example of this solidarity appears in source III.1. The relationship between Judah and Israel is highlighted in their alliance against Moab. This expression of their relationship could not be purely religious: not only is Yahweh not invoked in the passage, but Elisha only agrees to bless the kings and their soldiers because of his respect for the king of Judah:

> **VI.1 (2 Kgs 3:13–4; middle text)**: And Elisha said to the king of Israel, "What have I to do with you? Go to the prophets of your father and the prophets of your mother." But the king of Israel said to him, "No; it is the LORD who has called these three kings to give them into the hand of Moab." And Elisha said, "As the LORD of hosts lives, whom I serve, were it not that I have regard for Jehoshaphat the king of Judah, I would neither look at you, nor see you.”

Elisha, a prophet of Judah, rejects Jehoram, king of Israel, on the basis of his impiety to Yahweh. Had Jehoshaphat made the same judgement, on the basis of religion, then he would not have joined with the northern kingdom in their war. Jehoshaphat honors his communal

bond of extended kinship as a "people" (*`am*) to Jehoram despite their religious differences. Source III.1+VI.1 is an expression of ethnic solidarity par excellence.

Interestingly, the extended kinship of *`am* was participatory and not consanguineous. It was something that could be lost, as the following examples demonstrate:

> **VI.2 (Exo 31:14; middle text)**: You shall keep the sabbath, because it is holy for you; every one who profanes it shall be put to death; whoever does any work on it, that soul shall be cut off from among his people [*`am*].
>
> **VI.3 (Ezek 18:18; middle text)**: As for his father, because he practiced extortion, robbed his brother, and did what is not good among his people [*`am*], behold, he shall die for his iniquity.

The first passage appears in Exodus. It is an elaboration and clarification of the ideas expressed in the Decalogue, regarding the keeping of the Sabbath (IV.6) in this case. The consequence of violating this ordinance is that he or she should not just die, but be "cut off from his *`am*." He would die and cease to be identified as an Israelite. The second passage shows that this punishment could be incurred for non-religious violations as well. For the harm the transgressor did to "his people," he would be killed.

Expressions of ethnic solidarity do not always need to be confrontational. The observance of laws requiring toleration is another kind of loyalty to a community, as in the following passage:

> **VI.4 (Deut 24:21; middle text)**: When you gather the grapes of your vineyard, you shall not glean it afterward; it shall be for the sojourner, the fatherless, and the widow. You shall remember that you were a slave in the land of Egypt; therefore I command you to do this.

Moses, communicating the words of Yahweh, reminds the Israelites that they were slaves in Egypt who escaped because of their god's aid. They are instructed to tolerate outsiders, including sojourners (*ger*, acceptable foreigners, see above), orphans, and widows, who should be allowed to take unused grapes from vineyards. This toleration, while also a charity, is commanded out of commemoration of the people's shared history.

A final, defining example of loyalty to "one's own" community is the requirement for physical separation that appears in the late texts of the corpus. The following is an iconic example:

> **VI.5 (Ezra 9:1-4; late text)**: After these things had been done, the officials approached me [Ezra] and said, "The people of Israel and the priests and the Levites have not separated themselves from the peoples of the lands with their abominations, from the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Jebusites, the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Egyptians, and the Amorites. For they have taken some of their daughters to be wives for themselves and for their sons; so that the holy race ["seed" *zera`*] has mixed itself with the peoples of the lands. And in this faithlessness the hand of the officials and chief men has been foremost." When I heard this, I rent my garments and my mantle, and pulled hair from my head and beard, and sat appalled. Then all who trembled at the words of the God of Israel, because of the faithlessness of the returned exiles, gathered round me while I sat appalled until the evening sacrifice.

Ezra (the Scribe) is narrating the tale of his leadership of the Judean exiles' return to Jerusalem, and the passage describes his reaction to learning about the intermarriage that had occurred between the "Israelites" (returned exiles) and the non-Israelites of Palestine. He is outraged, and describes their not separating (*badal*) as faithlessness (*ma`al*). Similar passages can be found in Nehemiah (Neh 9, 13), where the separation from non-Israelites is expressed as a loyal and good act for the Judeans. In the subsequent lines, Ezra searches for a resolution and

suggests that the returned exiles divorce their foreign (*nokri*) wives and children. The section concludes with a list of men (in a form resembling a genealogy!) and ends with the line, "All these had married foreign women, and they put them away with their children" (Ezra 10:44).

Discussion

The preceding survey provides a thorough overview of the markers of alterity and social difference appearing in the books of the Hebrew Bible. We see that the markers are diverse and numerous, and that all six ethno-symbolic markers of ethnic identity can be demonstrated frequently and easily. The results of the survey showed the following:

Ethnonyms (I) are usually genealogical and gentilic simultaneously (I.1). The ethnonym of the primary protagonists of the bible, the "Israelites," describes them as both the inhabitants of Israel (after the exodus) and the descendants of Jacob/Israel (I.2). Purely gentilic names also exist, but they are uncommon ("Babylonian", I.3). Ethnonyms are usually nouns, but adjectives are sometimes used with reference to women (I.4). They could sometimes be arranged into social hierarchies as part of the narrative. The social categories "nation" *goy* and "people" *`am* could be used to stress a hierarchy of social types (I.5), and the Israelites are often singled out as a special "nation" among the other nations (I.6, I.7). In other cases, the terms *goy* and *`am* do not appear to rank anything and can appear interchangeable (I.8).

Ethnonyms are closely connected to geographic territory (I.9, I.10), and some key examples of ethno-national names in the biblical corpus include Egyptians (I.11), Canaanites (I.12), Philistines (I.13), Edomites (I.14), Moabites (I.15), Assyrians (I.16), Babylonians (I.17), Amorites (I.18), Midianites (I.22), and Ammonites (I.23). All of them are associated with a

geographic territory at some point.

Sub-categories of large people groups are described as “tribes”, “families” and “households” (I.24). Ethnonyms of these sub-categories could be considered as “nested ethnicites” described in the previous chapter.

Ethnic ancestor myths (II) are well attested in the Hebrew Bible and best exemplified by the Table of Nations in Genesis (II.1), which mentions an ancestral founder for most of peoples of the world in an attempt to create a universal picture of humankind. The ultimate purpose of the Table was to highlight the Israelites' special role as the mediators of Yahweh on Earth (II.2).

While the entire collection of books in the bible can be considered an ethnic history (III), some passages explicitly describe historical events in a way that emphasizes the identity of the community. This collective identity was why the kings of Israel and Judah sometimes allied (III.1), it provided the background narrative for the Judean exiles in Babylon (III.2), and the consequences of transgressions against the community were shown to be terrible (III.3).

Descriptions of specific cultural elements (IV) are numerous in the Hebrew Bible, but they primarily focus on Israelite elements for Israelite/Judean audiences, and there is a pro-Yahwist bias in the description of non-Israelite forms. The religious form of the Israelites is Yahwism, which is described for an Israelite audience as worship of the one true god and the god of the Israelites (IV.1). The religious practices of non-Israelites are characterized as very bad (IV.2), but non-Israelite people are generally expected to have a deity associated with each of them (IV.3). Costume and dress are rarely described, but “tassels” are an example of specifically Israelite costume (IV.4). Israelites have holidays associated with their community, including Passover (IV.5) and the Sabbath (IV.6). Language is often used as a marker of identity.

It is one of the organizing principles behind the generations that appear in the Table of Nations (IV.7); it is a marker of Judean purity in the Book of Nehemiah (IV.8), and was stark enough to divide groups from one another in matters of life and death (IV.9).

The Hebrew Bible is filled with references to lands, homelands, and territories, and geographic markers (V) generally function as an important motif throughout the various books of the collection. The recurring motif of the "promised land" is particularly important to the exodus-narrative (V.1). Additionally, the texts demonstrate a narrative awareness that homelands and territory are different different concepts, so while it is possible for a people to dwell in one place, they could easily have "come from" somewhere else (V.2).

Demonstrations of ethnic solidarity (VI) appear in the biblical corpus. Extended kinship is shown to have political efficacy, so that the kings of Israel and Judah could work together out of a sense of loyalty that was not only religious (VI.1). Membership in a community of people could be participatory and require the observance of certain institutions; the failure to adhere to community requirements could result in loss of membership (VI.3). Loyalty among the Israelites was not only expected, but could be demanded under penalty of excommunication and death (VI.2). Commitment to a community was not always antagonistic, and Deuteronomy tells Israelites to tolerate non-members who "sojourn" in their lands, as a commemoration of their own history (VI.4). Finally, in the later texts especially, the returning exiles separate themselves from non-Israelites out of a sense of commitment to "Judean" identity (VI.5).

This survey captures many of the dimensions of the social difference and identity in the

corpus as a whole, but many interesting nuances and details must be overlooked since they do not contribute to the larger project of the present study. In particular, as Carly Crouch has observed, the texts coming from the context of the southern Levant show ethnic identifications distinguishing people who are more alike than different.[367] Source criticism suggests a developmental evolution in the way Israelites perceived themselves and others over time, and much more could be said about the details of this evolution with a defined framework of dates and more philological work.[368] One example mentioned above is the change from a sojourner/native dichotomy that tolerated conversion/immigration (e.g. Rahab) to a stark barrier dividing the "returned" people of the exile from the "foreign" people of the land.

These shifts involve the semiotic and semantic features of what the ethno-symbolist Anthony Smith calls "lateral" and "vertical" ethnies and describe the mechanics of how ethnic identities are symbolically mobilized to influence different groups.[369] These axes could be used to chart the movement of symbolic boundaries throughout historical development of the texts by highlighting the political purpose of particular boundaries. Jonathan Dych has shown how this process worked for Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles, for example, and similar results should be expected elsewhere.[370]

In sum, our observations agree with Sparks's description of a "flip" in the perception of social difference from what Jonathan Hall calls "aggregative" identity to an "oppositional" one,

367 Crouch 2014: 96–7.

368 See Sparks 2005 and Miller 2008 for a recent survey and tips for future research. Crouch (2012 and 2014) is a successful example of this type of close reading, and her treatment of Deuteronomy is compelling and successful.

369 Smith 1986: 76–7; Updated and clarified in Smith 1994: 707.

370 Dych 1996; See also source III.2 above.

as a result of the political circumstances of the Judeans after the exile.[371] A very similar process was observed in the Greek case study and will be discussed further in chapter five.

Conclusion

The ancient Israelite conceptions of social difference prioritized ethno-religious membership and practice over all other forms of categorical identity. As a result, a strong "Yahwist" bias pervades all of the texts in the Hebrew Bible. Nonetheless, a clearly defined sense of ethnic difference is visible in the biblical material, and all six ethno-symbolic markers can be demonstrated abundantly. Therefore, it seems reasonable to conclude that the concept of ethnicity was fully formed by the middle biblical period (722 – 538 BCE), and that many of the named groups listed above were, in fact, ethnic groups (ethnies).

This conclusion and its ramifications will be discussed in further detail in chapter five, where the results of all three case studies can be found.

371 Sparks 1998: 55, 214–5; Hall 1997: 47.

Chapter Four: The Concept of Ethnicity in Middle Babylonian Texts

Introduction

The present chapter surveys the markers of alterity and social differences in Middle Babylonian cuneiform texts and evaluates the dimensions of social identity expressed in the corpus using an ethno-symbolic model of group identity. The survey completes the trilogy of case studies undertaken in the present dissertation and follows the chapters concerning Ancient Greek and Biblical Hebrew texts.

Middle Babylonian texts are Akkadian and Sumerian cuneiform documents from Mesopotamia during the Middle Babylonian Period (ca. 1500–1000 BCE), which includes the time of the Kassite dynasty (ca. 1475–1155 BCE) and the following Isin II period (ca. 1157–1026 BCE).[372]

Texts from the Middle Babylonian period offer suitable data that serve as a reasonable extension for the technique employed in the previous chapters. Babylonia during the late second millennium BCE remains part of the same "world" as Classical Greece and Biblical Israel, with cultural continuities that unite them as part of *la longue durée,*[373] but also with

372 The use of absolute dates in Near Eastern history is problematic before the first millennium BCE, and the methods required to investigate and evaluate chronological issues are highly complex and involve different types of evidence. The present study adopts the use of the so-called "Middle Chronology" following the majority practice of historians of the ancient Near East and to facilitate comparison with other works in the field (cf. Van De Mieroop 2007a:4). This chronology has been justifiably criticized, and there are compelling reasons to consider the alternatives, e.g. Gasche et al 1998, but the situation remains far from clear (cf. Manning et al 2001). These uncertainties mean that absolute dates could be up to 96 years sooner (younger) than expressed here.

373 Connections that bind Mediterranean cultures and history have been popular since Fernand Braudel's 1946 *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l'Epoque de Philippe II.* This tradition remains current in Ancient Near Eastern Studies, especially during the period of the late second millennium BCE. Marc Van De Mieroop's 2007b *The Eastern Mediterranean in the Age of Rameses II* is an homage to Braudel's work and is in this tradition.

discontinuities that distinguish each culture of the period as part of a different time and place.[374] The culture of the Middle Babylonian texts immediately preceded the collapse of the world-system of the late second millennium BCE, the so-called "Bronze Age Collapse," and the texts provide a window into the concepts of identity at the final state of development before the collapse and resulting textual dark age.[375] Thus the Middle Babylonian corpus supplements the preceding studies by introducing a new and different cultural picture while also complementing them by extending the chronological distribution into the late second millennium BCE.

Two additional reasons encourage an examination of the markers of social difference in Middle Babylonian texts. First, for a preliminary study of ancient identity types, the Middle Babylonian period avoids the problems found in older historical periods, such as the "Sumerian question" and the "Amorite question" of the third and early second millenniums BCE.[376] While interesting and rich with social data in their own right, these periods are too disconnected from our other studies to be accessed easily, and too contested to be incorporated into the present study without additional difficulty. Second, the Middle Babylonian corpus is smaller and more manageable. Period literature is widely available, and although the archival texts are only sparsely published, scholars have identified a surprisingly large number of ethnonyms.[377]

374 Many cuneiform documents from the first millennium BCE are contemporaneous with the texts from ancient Greece and Israel, but Middle Babylonian texts offer an opportunity to explore a related cultural system that is chronologically distinct from the others. As we shall see, the visible ethnic markers display a significantly different pattern from the later periods.

375 See "The Dark Age" in chapter two for an introduction to these events in Greece and bibliography.

376 For an introduction and bibliography to the "Sumerian question" see Rubio 2008: 1–9, and summarized in Bahrani 2006: 52; for the "Amorite question" see Michalowski 2011: 82–121 and Whiting 1995: 1241; both "questions" are placed in a methodological context in Van Driel 2005:6–7 and a post-colonial discourse in Bahrani 2003: 13–49.

377 Brinkman 1976: 76.

Race and ethnicity are categories that have been utilized in the study of ancient Mesopotamia since the nineteenth century,[378] but identity research in the studies of the Ancient Near East is relatively nascent,[379] especially compared to the advanced studies in Classics and Biblical Studies.[380] Similarly, critical studies of ethnic theory have only rarely attempted to include materials from the Ancient Near East in histories of difference or ethnicity.[381] Consequently, the evidence in cuneiform sources has not been incorporated into the critical literature of ethnicity, and general histories of race and ethnicity typically begin in Greece.[382] The present chapter is a preliminary effort to address this situation.

Unlike the previous chapters, the following case study employs administrative documents as well as literature. The technique and approach is the same, but as will become clear, Middle Babylonian literature is not concerned with ethnology. We have no Middle Babylonian Herodotus or Kassite Tacitus, but numerous ethnological markers can be found in administrative documents. The question is, what category of identity do these markers represent?

The following chapter begins by summarizing key studies of social identity in Ancient

---

378 Bahrani 2006: 50.

379 Steadman and Ross 2010: 1–2.

380 Cf. chapters two and three.

381 Anthony Smith is the primary theorist to do so regularly, e.g. Hutchinson and Smith 1996: 10–11, 190; Smith 1986: 21–46 and passim; Steven Grosby has pioneered social studies in the Ancient Near East (Grosby 2002), but with a key exception (Grosby 1991:32–5), he usually focuses on the evidence in the first millennium BCE (e.g. Israel, and Assyria).

382 An important monograph on history and ethnicity has two essays on Greece, one on Israel, and no references to Babylonian or Assyrian cultures (Tonkin et al 1989). Many important studies of identity use "ethnicity" as an analytical category (e.g.Jones 1997), and the term appears frequently in prehistorical anthropology and archaeology (e.g. Kamp and Yoffee 1980, Emberling and Yoffee 1999). As discussed in chapter one, important differences distinguish the ethnie, from the "ethnic group," the analytical category, and we are interested in the historical concept of the ethnie.

Near Eastern Studies to show the range and limitations of existing research, the influence these studies had on existing histories, and the methods involved. Next, a brief historical sketch provides an overview of the Middle Babylonian period of history in Mesopotamia, in order to locate the period in the larger history of the Near East, with a focus on key words and concepts appearing in the documentary sources below. The section on prevalent identities introduces a small number of lexical terms that Babylonian scribes used to describe social groups explicitly, and then the textual sources are discussed in detail. For each ethno-symbolic marker type, a selection of sources are presented in translation, discussed, and briefly analyzed. Finally, the results of the entire survey are discussed in some detail so as to provide a synthesis of the results, and the chapter concludes with an assessment of the ethno-symbolic form of ethnicity visible in the Middle Babylonian texts.

Prior Research

One of the great Assyriologists of the twentieth century, A. Leo Oppenheim, once opined that the future of Ancient Near Eastern studies would be in collaboration with other disciplines, especially that of cultural anthropology, and that the *raison d'être* of Assyriology would be in making "the wealth of over two millennia of one of the first great civilizations" accessible for such collaborations.[383] With only a few important exceptions, this dialogue has never been realized, and the study of Mesopotamia remains the province of a relatively small group of linguistic and archaeological specialists. The dialogue between Assyriology and cultural anthropology has not developed because—among other difficulties—the terminology for communicating important ideas lacks an accessible, articulate lexicon that would satisfy both disciplines. It is essentially impossible for non-specialists to perform social studies of

383 Oppenheim 1977: 29–30.

Babylonians when translations fail to define the social boundaries of what the term "Babylonian" means, in its original time and in our own. Thus general studies of social history that includes early Mesopotamian civilization are practically non-existent.

Early views of Mesopotamian history perceived the oldest periods as a history of racial conflict between inimical groups, namely Sumerians and Semites.[384] According to this viewpoint, the Sumerians were very early residents of Mesopotamia and were characterized by religious piety and communalism. In contrast, the Semites arrived somewhat later and were characterized by military fervor and imperial ambition. According to this narrative, the Semites ultimately won the conflict and proceeded to dominate the region until foreigners from outside the Mesopotamian heartland infiltrated their society, beginning a long series of transformations through foreign invasions.[385] This pattern of social transformation was characteristic of so-called *oriental despotism*, and the rest of Assyro-Babylonian history was essentially a repeating narrative of congruent conquests and resulting regime changes.[386]

These earlier ideas were seemingly given up when Thorkild Jacobsen published an essay in 1939 showing abundant, uncontroversial evidence of peaceful cooperation and social interaction, even integration, between the two "races."[387] The tone of Assyriological research changed in many ways in the subsequent decades, and the events of World War II had considerable influence over the academic discourses surrounding race in the ancient world. Scholars treated the subject of race with caution and general skepticism. The notion of

384 Bahrani 2006: 48.

385 Cf. King 1923 and Breasted 1916, among others.

386 Holloway 2006: 25–7; Van De Mieroop 1999: 113; cf. Wittfogel 1957.

387 Rubio 2007: 27; cf. Jacobsen 1939

Akkadian (Semitic) or Sumerian races was dropped in favor of a more general Sumero-Akkadian culture, but the fundamental taxonomies and categories were still based on a structure that was formulated in term of racial theory.[388] While the word "race" was replaced with "people," scholars continued to use the same categorical framework, and archaeologists could write of the "character" of a people.[389] Indeed, this framework never disappeared, and the present day debate about early Assyro-Babylonian history that contrasts a Northern (i.e. Semitic) versus Southern (i.e. Sumerian) dichotomy in topics such as land tenure is a direct consequence of this legacy.[390]

Today scholars are more aware of these issues, and the relationship between ancient studies and colonial discourse has been a fixture of the self-reflection of the field for years.[391] In practice, the same "ethnic" labels continue to be used, but they are now understood to be modern tools of categorization or methodological convention. This development is commendable, but it also isolates the field from other disciplines, since is unclear on what criteria the classifications are based. A conventional usage is only clear to specialists who understand those conventions.

Few studies deal explicitly with the topic of ethnicity in Mesopotamian cultures, although the number of recent works suggest an increasing importance and popularity. Henri Limet wrote the first work to treat the subject directly in 1972;[392] in it he described the concept and the status of foreigners in Sumerian society. By focusing primarily on economic

388 Bahrani 2003: 13–49.

389 e.g. the "Kassite character" in Moortgat 1969: 98.

390 Rubio 2007: 8, 15–6.

391 Bahrani 2006: 51.

392 Limet 1972.

associations, he was able to discuss some of the terms assigned to minority groups in third millennium BCE Babylonia.

Kamp and Yoffee's 1980 study is foundational.[393] Their approach drew on anthropological theories of early complex societies to investigate plural (i.e. multicultural) societies of Western Asia. Their investigation was concerned primarily with identifying ethnic groups in the material evidence (as opposed to written evidence), in order to evaluate ethnic interactions and sociopolitical change. They concluded that the very nature of ancient societies made "pure" cultures impossible and that every society practiced a "hybrid" culture to a certain extent.[394] They added that one organizing principle within these cultures is "ethnicity,"[395] but they did not provide an adequate method for delineating the boundaries of membership.[396] The assumption that cultural labels should be understood as representing ethnic groups is characteristic of the *ethnolinguistic* approach to ancient peoples, and it is the dominant method of identifying ethnicity in the literature.

Ascribing identity based on the language used to make names, and associating it with an ethnonym— the ethnolinguistic approach—seems effective because the ancient texts do provide words that can be interpreted as evidence of social difference and collectives of people. For a

393 Kamp and Yoffee 1980.

394 Kamp and Yoffee 1980: 99.

395 Kamp and Yoffee 1980: 99–100.

396 Yoffee updated his ideas in Emberling and Yoffee 1999, and both works provide important methodological considerations for the appearance and utility of ethnicity as an analytical category in ancient studies and especially archaeology. Both studies ultimately assign signification of ethnic identity in written records to the appearance of ethnonyms, with the caveat that such terms often derive from biased perspectives and sources. They advocate a nuanced view of ethnicity that combines archaeological and written evidence, and I fundamentally agree with their views. The present study differs only by scrutinizing boundaries of the ethnie in the subjective world of ancient writing, with less of an interest for how these may or may not appear in the archaeological record, in the hope that some of the complexity surrounding these "problematic," historical and literary sources may be reduced (cf. Emberling and Yoffee 1999: 277).

philologist accustomed to translating ancient texts as closely to the lexicon of the original as possible, this approach feels intuitive and methodologically appropriate, but it is insufficient when applied uncritically. For example, the concept signified by the ancient term "*kaššû*" is not necessarily the same concept signified by the modern term "Kassite," and neither may necessarily correspond to the modern concept of an ethnie. The ethnolinguistic approach was used in many specialized studies and broad histories of ancient Mesopotamia, but it is especially problematic in works dealing with Mesopotamian daily life or society.[397] Because of the nature of cuneiform documents, it has always been easier to describe history from above, with the long view driven by political upheavals. So although Snell's 1997 work is concerned with social and economic history, he often defers to the political framework of the period to describe the social environment, a practice which is speculative and can be misleading.[398]

The recent *Rencontre Assyriologique International* conference was a benchmark in the development of studies of ethnicity in Mesopotamia because it provided an excellent cross-section of the state of research in numerous periods from across Ancient Near Eastern history.[399] Nonetheless, there was no systematic treatment of the problems the periods had in common. Van Driel's essay was the only one to deal with the problem methodologically, and while he suggested that ethnicity is a process that must be defined by its representation in

397 Recent histories that focus on historiographical sources avoid such sweeping generalizations. Van De Mieroop is clear about the limitations of the evidence for Kassite cultural expression, for example (Van De Mieroop 2007a: 173–4).

398 e.g. Snell 1997: 66–77. His account of the late second millennium BCE begins with a survey of the known ethnic groups and their areas of influence: Kassites, Amorites, Arameans, and Hurrians are mentioned alongside *habiru*, but there is no commentary on how this changes our perspective on their daily life. It is couched in the methodological classifications used to analyze political (top-down) history. His use of economic documents to survey the changing relationships between various social institutions, on the other hand, is very useful, and further studies of this type would be impactful in historical identity research.

399 Published as Van Soldt et al. 2005.

action, he also ultimately favored ethnolinguistic methods as the primary guide for identification.[400] His most important observation was to draw a methodological separation between "large ethnicity," meaning the categorical identity described by a proper name (e.g. "*kaššû*" or "Assyrian"), and "small ethnicity," the individual markers to which analysts ascribe significance (e.g. the "Kassite" robe,[401] or a "Kassite" name[402]).

Finally, three important, short essays offer promising new directions for identity research in ancient Babylonia. First, Steven Grosby's work on territory and the nation has demonstrated the successful integration of critical theories of identity with documents from the Ancient Near East.[403] Second, Gonzalo Rubio's 2007 survey of issues in the study of Southern Mesopotamia highlights the recurring issues of language and ethnicity in Assyriological research, offering a systematic, albeit preliminary, treatment of the problems common to all periods of study.[404] Third, Zainab Bahrani's short essay on race and ethnicity makes explicit the difference between ancient and modern labels.[405] She highlights the total absence of specifically racialized language in ancient texts, but warns that this does not mean that social difference (i.e. alterity) did not exist. Rather, the criteria for difference in the Ancient Near East were linked to other markers that were significant in the ancient social context. Her observations remind us not to draw too many conclusions from the presence of social names (ethnonyms) alone without situating them in a specific context of culture, place, and tradition.

400 Van Driel 2005: 4.

401 Collon 1987: 58–9, 150.

402 Sassmannshausen 2014.

403 See especially Grosby 1997. These themes appear in most of the essays in his collected volume, Grosby 2002, some of which appear in the discussion in "ethno-nationalism" in chapter three of the present study.

404 Rubio 2007.

405 Bahrani 2006.

In summary, a survey of the prior research on social difference in Ancient Near Eastern Studies shows that:

a) few Assyriological studies have incorporated critical theories or terminology of race and ethnicity into the research, making it difficult for non-specialists of the field to incorporate cuneiform documentary evidence into histories of social difference;

b) many definitions and frameworks for the study of ancient Mesopotamia were formulated with antiquated concepts of racial theory that have never completely disappeared;

c) in some cases, scholars have interpreted the presence of names for various groups as evidence of fully articulated ethnic groups (or ethnies), without adequately demonstrating such phenomena; and

d) the ethnolinguistic method—that is the assigning of identity based on the linguistic affiliation of personal names—has often been combined with studies of the ancient terminology for social (or "ethnic") difference, diluting the appearance of difference and causing imprecision in modern scholarship.

The present study surveys the Middle Babylonian textual corpus and identifies explicit ethno-symbolic markers of identity in order to analyze and critically assess the demonstrable concept of ethnicity visible in material from the Near East in the late second millennium BCE.

Historical Sketch

The historical region of Iraq located south of present-day Baghdad is typically called Babylonia in English today, when referring to the ancient societies and states that dwelled in

the area, although many different terms were used throughout the region's extremely long history. The region is so designated because it was the area frequently, though not always, under the control of the kings of the city of Babylon. The name "Babylonia" is a modern term.[406] Ancient terms for the changing political concepts of the region evolved over time, and "Babylonia" is a modern, conventional choice meant only to describe the geographic region, and definitely not intended to suggest a coherence or impose a homogeneity to the society and communities that lived there.

The Middle Babylonian period stretches roughly from the fall of Babylon in 1595 to the end of the Second Dynasty of Isin (Isin II) in 1026 BCE.[407] Scholars have referred to some or all of this period by various terms, including "Third Dynasty of Babylon," "Kassite Dynasty," "Post-Kassite," and "Middle Babylonian,[408] but the appellation "Middle Babylonian Period" for the era has become the standard terminology among specialists of the period.[409]

The following historical sketch provides an overview of the Middle Babylonian period in order to provide context for understanding the textual sources discussed in our analysis below.

The Kassite Dynasty of Babylon (c. 1475–1150 BCE)

In 1595 BCE, the armies of the Hittites descended from Anatolia and sacked the city of

406 An ancient Akkadian term *Karduniaš* may have been functionally similar to our concept of Babylonia, but both concepts have secondary associations that prevent them from being exactly congruent. *Karduniaš* is a loan word from the Kassite language, which is poorly understood, so the full significance of the term is unclear. On the other hand, the term Babylonia obviously associates the region with the city of Babylon, which may be distort the political reality. No term is perfect and so this choice to use Babylonia for the region is purely conventional.

407 Following Paulus 2013 and 2014.

408 e.g. "Third Dynasty of Babylon" (Winkler 1907: 71, etc.); "Kassite Dynasty" (Brinkman 1974, etc.); "Middle Babylonian" for both Kassite and Isin II dynasties (Paulus 2014, etc.); "Middle Babylonian" for Isin II period (Chavalas 2006: 160, etc.); "Post-Kassite" (Brinkman 1968: 22–3, etc.).

409 Cf. Paulus 2013 and Van Koppen 2010. The name corresponds to the dialect of the Akkadian language that the documents of the period were written in. See Textual Sources below.

Babylon, eliminating its leadership and sending the region into a period of disunity that lasted several decades.[410] Very few written materials from the period of disunity have been discovered, so the details of what happened during this time remain mysterious; but by 1475 a new center of power had become dominant in northern Babylonia.[411]

From about 1475 until 1150, Babylonia was ruled by a single dynasty.[412] While the kings of the dynasty did occasionally describe themselves as kings of the city of Babylon, it was much more common for them to simply claim to be the rulers of the entire region of Babylonia (*Karduniāš*). Current scholarship typically describes the dynasty of this period as the "Kassite Dynasty," referring to their assumed ethnic identity. The label has some basis; to the north, contemporary Assyrians did describe the southern rulers as "Kassite," as did the Babylonians in later periods of history. But the rulers under discussion, those of late-second-millennium BCE Babylonia, very rarely used the descriptor "Kassite" for themselves.[413]

For more than three centuries (1475–1150), the period was characterized by general stability and widespread respect for earlier Babylonian traditions. The latter characteristic is particularly interesting in light of the apparent foreign origins of the dynasty,[414] and the kings' names were predominantly in the Kassite language for centuries.[415] The best-documented

410 Van De Mieroop 2007a: 122–3.

411 Van De Mieroop 2007b: 21–2; texts from this period are summarized and discussed in Van Koppen 2010.

412 Brinkman 1974: 402-3.

413 The term "King of the Kassites" (LUGAL *Kaššû*) only appears in two Babylonian royal inscriptions between 1595 and 1150, and they are either very early (Agum II, mid-16th century) or very late (Marduk-apla-iddina I, 1171–59). Furthermore, both texts are attested only in first millennium copies of historical inscriptions, casting further suspicion on their accuracy. Texts appear in Stein 2000 as Kb 2 and Kb 4 respectively.

414 Balkan 1986: 6; and Heinz 1995: 167.

415 Brinkman 1974: 404. The first ruler with a fully Akkadian name was the twenty-sixth king, Kudur(ri)-Enlil (1254 – 1246).

activities of the dynasty concerns the constructing of temples and building deposits. The inscriptions placed on these constructions were dedications to older, traditional Mesopotamian gods such as Enlil and Inanna, and nearly always in Sumerian.[416] Similarly, the royal titles used in such building inscriptions drew heavily on traditional Babylonian themes of previous eras.[417] In the most numerous inscriptions, those of Kurigalzu I (d. 1375), the titles "*šakkanakku*-priest of Enlil, mighty king, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters" is used,[418] while the title, "King of the World (*šar kiššati*) is more popular, overall, throughout the dynasty.[419] The ruling dynasty made great efforts to rebuild the dilapidated cult centers in the region throughout their period in power, reviving neglected cult centers as they spread their influence over the whole of Babylonia.[420] Both the titles and the building activities were iconic expression of Babylonian kingship.

The monarchy probably remained within a single family for the duration of the period,[421] but the dynasty's survival was frequently threatened. Numerous conflicts with neighboring Elamites challenged the regime on several occasions,[422] and Babylonia was invaded by at least three Assyrian kings.[423] The Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243–07) managed to conquer

416 Brinkman 1974: 404. For a recent update see Bartelmus 2010.

417 "Mesopotamian traditions" as Brinkman described. See Brinkman, 1974: 405.

418 e.g. 1R 4 no. XIV 2:2–8, 3:4–10; or UET 1 159:2–6.

419 Seux 1967: 310-11.

420 Bartelmus 2010: 167.

421 Brinkman 1974: 403; Brinkman makes clear that this conclusion derives from the absence of any evidence to the contrary so it could turn out to be incorrect if new evidence were found. At least two kings, Kudur-Enlil (1254–46) and Shagarakti-Shuriash (1245–33) were not necessarily the sons of the previous kings, but these successions were likely to be agnatic successions.

422 Brinkman 1972: 276-7. Van Koppen 2006: 140-1. Kurigalzu I (?? – 1375) invaded Elam, defeated its king, Hurpatila, and conquered Susa, but the Elamites later returned and raided Babylonia during the reigns of Enlil-nadin-shumi (c. 1226) and Adad-shuma-iddina (c. 1222).

423 Babylonian king, Nazi-Maruttash (1307–1282), resisted minor border raids during a period of Assyrian

and rule Babylonia briefly, during which time he styled himself the king of Babylonia (Sumer and Akkad), before a Babylonian rebellion re-established the dynasty with Adad-shuma-usur (1216–1187). Eventually, the Elamites took advantage of Babylonia's weakness and capture the last king of the dynasty in 1155, bringing him as a hostage to the Elamite capital of Susa.[424]

In the broader Ancient Near East, the period of the late second millennium was an age of international diplomacy and large territorial states.[425] The rulers of these states, such as Egypt in North Africa, Hatti in Anatolia, and Mittanni in Northern Mesopotamia, used military, economic, and diplomatic tools to exert influence over minor kingdoms throughout the broader region. The rulers of the large, centralized states exchanged diplomatic correspondence in the form of letters written to one another in Akkadian (using the cuneiform script) in a broad system of international exchange.[426] In these letters, the kings of the dominant states called themselves "Great King" (*šarru rabû*) and addressed one another as "brother" (*aḫu*).[427] The evidence available today suggests that in Babylonia "Great King" was not simply rhetorical; indeed, it appears that the military, economic, and diplomatic power of Babylonia was operating at a level equal with that of the other great states of the period.[428] International

strength by Assyrian kings Adad-nirari I and Shalmaneser I. Tukulti-Ninurta I invaded and dethroned Kashtiliashu IV (1232–25). Finally, the Assyrian king, Assur-dan raided Babylonia at the end of the dynasty, preparing the regime for final defeat in the later Elamite invasion.

424 This narrative detail is known from the later Chronicle tradition. Cf. the Pseudo-Autobiography of Nebuchadnezzar I (Longman 1991: 194–5) and the Marduk Prophecy (Longman 1991: 132).

425 Van De Mieroop 2007a: 129–148.

426 Moran 1992 collects and offers a translation of these letters. More recently, Izre'el 2013 has begun offering updated translations online through the ORACC system.

427 passim in EA 1–44.

428 For military: the success of Babylonia's ability to protect their borders has already been mentioned. For diplomatic: Babylonia's position relative to Egypt is very nearly equal in the marriage and wedding gift negotiations of Kadashman-Enlil I (1374?–60), cf. EA 1–5. The very fact that the diplomatic exchanges of the Late Second millennium were conducted in Babylonian-Akkadian shows the cultural preeminence of Babylonia at that time.

correspondences document Babylonians trade in luxury textiles, horses, chariots, and precious stones (probably in the form of jewelry), bronze, silver, and oil;[429] international exchange had a demonstrable effect on the economy: the Babylonians abandoned the earlier silver standard and began to express prices in amounts of gold, a metal that could only be found in Egypt at this time.[430] Similarly, Egyptian jewelry (*kilīlu miṣrî*) is mentioned in an inventory, and Egyptian-type scarabs have been found in archaeological layers dating to this period.[431] In short, the society of Babylonia was part of a cosmopolitan, interactive world with connections to a diversity of peoples during the late second millennium.

Social and economic changes were not the only dynamic features of the late second millennium in Babylonia. Even while the regional political organization was becoming more centralized, settlement patterns and the distribution of human occupation was slowly moving away from urban centers into the surrounding hinterlands.[432] This migratory pattern of "ruralization" had begun centuries earlier, from around 2100, and continued to accelerate over time until it culminated in the period of disarray just after the fall of the Kassite dynasty (1155).[433] It is reasonable to assume that the increasing ruralization was due, in part, to the stability created by centuries of stable rule in the region. At Nippur, the city where the majority of evidence for the present chapter originated, the population continually declined throughout the period as people left city.[434] Additionally, the main course of the Euphrates

429 Brinkman 1972: 274-5.

430 Edzard 1960.

431 Brinkman 1972: 275.

432 Brinkman 1984.

433 Adams 1981: 138-9, 166-7, and 172-73; Brinkman 1984: 172-4.

434 Brinkman 1984: 175.

River shifted westward, abandoning the former, centrally-located city of Nippur for the capital city, Babylon.[435] Such significant environmental changes must have had dramatic consequences for almost every aspect of life in southern Mesopotamia. Letters written by provincial governors, for example, primarily deal with the maintenance of irrigation infrastructure and the digging of ditches and canals.[436]

The Second Isin Dynasty of Babylon (c. 1155–1026 BCE)

Following the capture of the Kassite king by the Elamites, Kassite rule came to an end in Babylonia. The region fell under the control of the Elamite Empire, and Babylonian resistance was inspired by a dynasty of leaders referred to as the Second Isin Dynasty.[437] Although fewer sources exist from the Isin II dynasty than from the preceding Kassite period, the narrative of events is better understood. According to king lists written centuries later, the origin of the dynasty was in the city of Isin.[438] The early kings struggled with the Elamites, but quickly claimed in royal inscriptions the titles of Babylonian rule such as "King of Kings," "King of Sumer and Akkad," and "King of Babylon".[439] These kings were involved in an Assyrian throne dispute, and later in a battle that led to a treaty with Assyria.[440]

The most important ruler of the dynasty was the fourth king, Nabu-kudurri-usur (1125–1104), though he is better known by his anachronistic name, Nebuchadnezzar I.[441] This

435 Brinkman 1984: 175-6.

436 Primarily found in Radau 1908 (= BE 17).

437 Van De Mieroop 2007a: 176.

438 Brinkman 1968: 93.

439 Paulus 2014: 77; For the significance of the titles see Brinkman 1968: 94–7.

440 Paulus 2014: 77.

441 Nebuchadnezzar II (604–562), who is known from the Hebrew Bible (e.g. 2 Kgs 24–5, 2 Chr 36), shares the name Nabû-kudurrī-uṣur. Both figures are referred to by their more familiar Hebrew name, but Nebuchadnezzar I is not described in any known Hebrew texts.

enthusiastic king launched a successful campaign against the Elamites, brought an end to their empire and influence in Mesopotamia, and retrieved the statue of the Babylonian national god, Marduk, from Susa.[442] This moment was a cultural landmark in Babylonian history, and it appears as a reference point in several literary works.[443] Nebuchadnezzar also appears to have normalized relations with Assyria after some tension, and during his reign Babylonia briefly returned to the position of power it enjoyed during the previous Kassite dynasty.[444] However, his successes were short-lived, and soon after his death the dynasty and region slid into historical obscurity.[445] The decline is usually blamed on invasions by Syrian Aramaeans, but these events need to be considered in the larger context of the general Near Eastern system at the time.[446]

The End of an Era and the Dark Age

Babylonia was not the only region to be transformed in the era. In fact, all the "Great Kingdoms" underwent major disruptions, and within a very short time the entire international system collapsed. The reasons for this system-wide collapse are not precisely known, and the interpretation of the evidence is a matter of considerable debate.[447] A summary of the evidence and key interpretations appears below.

The fact that this period ends in a "dark age" bears significantly on two aspects of the present project. First, it signals that a major social disruption occurred that certainly must

442 Paulus 2014: 77; Van De Mieroop 2007a: 177.

443 Foster 2005: 376–91.

444 Paulus 2014: 77.

445 Paulus 2014: 78–80; Van De Mieroop 2007a: 177.

446 Van De Mieroop 2007a: 177.

447 For a recent, general, summary of the theories see Van De Mieroop 2007b, 249-54.

have affected the continuity of social forms between periods, so there is no reason to expect that any social form known from the First Millennium would have an immediate precedent, direct or indirect, in the earlier period of the late second millennium. Second, the "dark age" imposes an analytic division between the Babylonian societies available for research, and scholars are forced to treat the evidence and its interpretations as belonging to two different episodes of Babylonian history. Even for scholars interested in highlighting continuity in Babylonian traditions, the disconnection between these periods of evidence requires some way of accounting for the disruption.

The end of the era involved a period of rapid change, destruction, and conflicts. Destruction layers in a variety of archaeological sites, especially in the region of Palestine, suggest a widespread outbreak of violence. Important sites, such as Ugarit, were destroyed and often became uninhabited.[448] Famously, the Egyptians faced a series of invasions by the so-called "Sea Peoples," which is one of the names for the various groups of invaders that appear at this time.[449] Evidence in the textual and geological records suggests that climatic changes caused a period of drought.[450] Such change would certainly have exacerbated the existing difficulties, even if they were not the original cause. Social unrest may have also been a significant factor. The disparity of wealth between the ultra-elites who dwelled in palaces, and the large (free and non-free) workforces may have created unsustainable problems with debt, contributing to increasingly difficult conditions that were exacerbated by oppressive taxation.[451] Scholars have also noted that the changes were not as revolutionary as they may initially

448 Van De Mieroop 2007a: 193-5.

449 Van De Mieroop 2007b: 243–6.

450 Carpenter 1966; and Neuman and Parpola 1987.

451 Liverani 1987: 66–73; and Van De Mieroop 2002.

appear, and many could be continuations of processes that began centuries earlier and continued throughout the era.[452] Regardless of the details, the system of international exchange collapsed entirely and the government organizations of the preceding era, the "Bronze Age," disappeared with it. For about two centuries, extremely few documents were produced, and consequently scholars lack insight into what happened during this crucial, transitionary period.

Prevalent Identities

Prior studies of the Middle Babylonian period have primarily focused on the state and its administration.[453] The limitations of the available evidence and the state of its publication has severely limited social research in the period.[454] Two recent works have considerably advanced our picture of certain elements of Middle Babylonian society, but neither one offers a synthetic treatment of the society as a whole.[455] Therefore, the following comments should be considered preliminary and could be revised significantly by the publication of new research.

Contrary to what was the case with the ancient Greeks and biblical Israelites, ethnology was not a topic of interest to authors during the Middle Babylonian period, nor in any period of history in Mesopotamia for that matter.[456] When cultural identities are described, they tend to be symbolic, archetypical depictions of "foreign" enemies rather than substantive accounts of a specific culture. Human beings in literary texts, when they appear in groups, are

452 Dever and Gitin 2003.

453 Cf. Oelsner 1982; Petschow 1974; Brinkman 1974, 1976, 2004; and Sassmannshausen 2001b.

454 See "Introduction to the Sources" below for a summary of these limitations.

455 Cf. Tenney 2011; and Sassmannshausen 2001b, but note Brinkman's caution concerning the generalizations of social concepts in the work (Brinkman 2004: 284–6).

456 Machinist 1986: 184.

overwhelmingly described in simple, generic terms as "people" or collectively as "humankind." Archival documents can supplement the picture somewhat because they contain many ethnonyms linked to economic information, but they say almost nothing about cultural boundaries or what the social labels mean.

The current available evidence does not favor the image of a cosmopolitan society in southern Mesopotamia during the Middle Babylonian period, where a core group and minorities intermingled more or less freely.[457] Although ethnonyms are common in the administrative documents at Nippur, the city from which the vast majority of the pertinent texts come, they describe almost all named groups of people as marginalized servile laborers under the dominance of powerful economic institutions and not as free and active participants in the cultural life of the towns and cities.[458] The two important exceptions are Kassites, who are associated with the ruling dynasty, and Assyrians, who appear as merchants and messengers as well as laborers.[459] There is no consensus concerning the name by which Babylonians, the majority population of this period, considered themselves,[460] and explicit references to "Babylonian" (*bābilayu*) is generally thought to refer to individuals connected to the city of Babylon itself and not to the broader territorial state.[461]

The state of our understanding of identity types in the Middle Babylonian corpus is still quite limited. The following summary is intended to show some dimensions of the social

457 Brinkman 2004: 284.

458 Brinkman 2004: 284–5; See also Brinkman 1980 and Tenney 2001.

459 Brinkman 2004: 284–5.

460 Sassmannshausen 2001b suggests that they should be considered "Akkadian" (*akkadû*), but Brinkman 2004 illustrates why this may be premature.

461 Brinkman 2004: 285 n.7.

imagination of Babylonians in the time period, but the survey is topical, brief, and intended to be suggestive rather than comprehensive. The precise boundaries of each identity are not known, but the general definitions are fairly reliable and can often be corroborated with texts from other periods. As with the previous chapters, kinship identities and place identities are treated separately.

Kinship identities

Kinship identities in Middle Babylonian texts involve three categories of association, and all three are recognizable in both the literary and archival materials in some form. The use of a father's patronymics, is the first and the most common, and appears as an integral part of an individual's identity in Babylonian. The second category is the various terms for family or kin, and the third category is collectives for people. If the concept of the ethnie existed in the Middle Babylonian period, it would need to be an extension of one or more of these concepts.

The first category of kinship identity is patronymics.

Patronymics are an almost universal feature of identity in texts from Mesopotamia. The usual way to refer to someone in cuneiform texts was as "PN_1 son/daughter of PN_2," where PN_2 is the father of PN_1.[462] Sometimes PN_2 is the mother, which means that she (PN_1) was a widow, divorcee, or single.[463] The formula appears in both Sumerian (PN_1 dumu/dumu-munus PN_2) and Akkadian (PN_1 *mār/mārat* PN_2),[464] and applied to everyone from slaves to kings, and even the gods themselves.[465] Patronymics were an important part of a person's legal identity, and only

462 Demare-Lafont 2014: 14.

463 Demare-Lafont 2014: 15.

464 CAD s.v. *māru* 1a–d.

465 e.g. person: "Damqu son of Ilī-bāni" (BE 14 10:37); king: "Kurigalzu son of Kadašman-Ḫarbe (BE 14 39:8); deity: to Marduk "[valorous] prince, son of Ea." (Muses III.44.f: 1).

freeborn people (including those temporarily enslaved for debt) bore a patronymic.[466] At some point during the Kassite period, the patronymic formula was extended so that it could denote an ancestor and not only a parent, and in later texts the meaning of patronymics becomes ambiguous as a result.[467]

The second category of kinship identity is terms for "family."

Kinship is, by definition, connected to the idea of family, and several terms in the Middle Babylonian corpus are connected with the idea of "family." These include *qinnu* "nest, family," *bītu* "house, family," *šīru* "flesh, kin," and *zēru* "seed, offspring, descent," and perhaps others, but the boundaries between terms show some overlap and much ambiguity remains.[468]

The Akkadian term *qinnu* "family" (lit. "nest") was an important term that appears in various contexts, but much like the word "family" in English, it referred to a variety of associations and connections.[469] It had an administrative quality in the archival documents, and was a unit employed in the distribution of rations to laborers.[470] It was typically a single household unit, but it could be extended outward to an extended family of "kinsmen" in a particular region.[471]

466 Demare-Lafont 2014: 14; Slaves in other periods of Babylonian history could be named after their owner ("PN_1 slave/female-slave of PN_2"), but no such instances occur in the MB corpus.

467 Lambert 1957: 1.

468 For family life in general see Stol 1995; for servile classes in the MB period see Tenney 2001: 65–92.; and for a detailed examination of the framework of marriage and family in Mesopotamia see Roth 1987; a study of family terms, their context, and usage is an important desideratum in Ancient Near Eastern Studies.

469 CAD Q s.v. *qinnu* A 2. "family, clan, kinsman", and 3b. "kinsman."

470 Tenney 2001: 71 and passim.

471 e.g. *napḫar 30 qinnu pīhat* GN "in all, thirty members of the GN district" (PBS 2/2 100:18).

Similar words for family include *kimtu* "family, kin,"[472] *salātu* "family, kin (by marriage),"[473] and *nišūtu* "family, relatives (by blood or marriage)."[474] These three terms primarily appeared in legal contexts but could occasionally find use in literature as well.[475] Unlike *qinnu*, their use appears constrained to direct relations.[476]

Bītu "house(hold), family" was a generic term for house.[477] It had a wide variety of meanings ranging spatially from a room to a large estate (or even a whole province) and socially from a nuclear family to a tribe or tribal confederacy, but it is is not always possible to clarify the precise meaning of *bīt* PN, especially in brief or broken contexts.[478]

A third word for family was *šīru* "flesh, kin."[479] *Šīru* was the standard word for "flesh" and "meat," and when used figuratively, it typically meant "well being" or "good health,"[480] but in literary contexts it could also mean "family" or "kin."[481] Interestingly, the term has been shown to be closely related to a person as a living, thinking body or being.[482] A figurative use of *šīru* for "kin, relatives" suggests that they were all "of one body" in a sense. This conception of *šīru* is particularly interesting because the word for blood, *damu*, was not used in the sense of "kin,

472 CAD s.v. *kimtu*; also written IM.RI.A.

473 CAD s.v. *salātu*; also written IM.RI.A or ŠU.SA.A.

474 CAD s.v. *nišūtu*; also written IM.RI.A or UZU.SU.

475 e.g. IBILA.A.BI ù IM.RI.A A.NA.ME.A.BI "his heir and his family, whoever they may be" (PBS 8/2 162: 14); *ana rapši kimati ēteme ēdāniš* "to my many relations (lit. broad family), I am like a recluse" (BWL 34: 75).

476 See Sjöberg 1967 for a discussion of the Sumerian background of these terms.

477 CAD s.v. *bītu*; also written É.

478 Tenney 2011: 97 n.26.

479 CAD s.v. *šīru* 2; also written UZU.

480 CAD s.v. *šīru* 1; cf. BE 17 31:8 and 80:7 in MB letters.

481 e.g. *ana la šīrīšu iškunanni kimtī* "my family treats me as a stranger/alien." (BWL 34:92).

482 Steinert 2012: 247–56.

bloodline" in Akkadian until centuries after the Middle Babylonian period.[483] Rather than a conception of "blood-relations" for kin, it seems that the idea for kinship in this period was of "flesh-relations" or "bodily-relations."

The last "family" word to note is *zēru* "seed, offspring, descent."[484] While the term typically was used to refer to someone's direct descendants, it could also be used to describe a lineage, especially regarding a "pure" or "royal" line (e.g. *II.2 below).

The final category of kinship identity is collectives of people.

Words for cohorts or communities of people are surprisingly uncommon in the Middle Babylonian corpus. A secondary use of *bītu* meant "clan," but there are very few candidates for sub-categories of social identities (i.e. possible "nested ethnicities"). The common way to refer to people in literature of the period was with general, generic terms as *nišu* "people" or the whole of *awīlūtu* "humankind."

Since Vincent Scheil's publication of the *kudurru* monument stones from Susa, most scholars have assumed that the Kassites were organized in tribes.[485] The expression *bīt* PN "house of PN" is a secondary use of *bītu* "house(hold), family" and is considered an expression of a tribal name, such as Bīt-Karziabku or Bīt-Tunamissaḫ.[486] The PN in these expressions is thought to be a (sometimes fictitious) ancestor of the clan,[487] and members were referred to as a

483 CAD s.v. *damu* 2.

484 CAD s.v. *zēru* 4; also written NUMUN.

485 Sassmannshausen 2001b: 420; cf. Scheil 1900, 1905, and 1908 - *Textes élamites-sémitques*, Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse, Paris.

486 Balkan 1986; Sassmannshausen 2001b: 144–50.

487 Brinkman 1976-80: 465 contra Sassmannshausen 1999: 420; I personally find Sassmannshausen's argument that the ancestors were not fictional on the basis of orthography (determinatives for personal names) insufficiently convincing and prefer Brinkman's skepticism.

"son" (*māru*) of the ancestor, regardless of how many generations may separate the individual from the ancestor.[488] The prevalence and actuality of clan identities is unclear. While the coherence of clans seems strong before the Middle Babylonian period,[489] at some point provincial administration and "clan" organizations seemed to merge or transform so it becomes difficult to assess how relevant "clan" membership is in different texts.[490]

Other than "clans," no other specific social categories are described in Middle Babylonian literature. The typical expressions for people groups are generic, referring to them generically as *nišu* "people,"[491] or *awīlūtu* "humankind."[492] Notably, a plurality of peoples is also visible in many texts with such expressions as *nišī šapḫāti* "the scattered peoples,"[493] *nišī rapšāti* "the numerous/widespread peoples,"[494] and *nišī dēšāti* "the numerous/abundant peoples."[495] This suggests that the idea of difference, of alterity, was functioning in many texts, but specificity is rare in the literature.[496] For the differentiation of people types, we must turn to place identities.

Place identities

Place identities differ from kinship identities by employing symbols that point to

488 Brinkman 1976-80: 465.

489 De Smet 1990: 3; Brinkman 1976-80: 465.

490 Brinkman 1976-80: 466; Sassmannshausen 1999: 420.

491 CAD s.v. *nišu* 1-2 "people"; e.g. "the guardian of living creatures, overthrew the *nišu*," (Muses III.12a:20), "I will teach the *nišu* that his kindness is nigh," (Muses III.14 1:39)

492 CAD s.v. *amīlūtu* 1 "humankind"; *amīlūtu* "in the face of them, *amīlūtu* entered caves" (Muses III.7b 2:5'), "(Marduk) who, to free them (the gods), created *amīlūtu*," (Muses III.17 VII:28).

493 "(Kurigalzu II) who gathered in the scattered peoples…" (Muses III.10b: 16); see also sources I.7 below.

494 "(Agum-Kakrime,) the shepherd of broad/numerous peoples" (Muses III.9: 24–5; cf. sources I.3); see also sources I.7 and I.8 below.

495 "Bringer of abundance, who makes the abundant grain for the numerous/abundant peoples." (Muses III.44h: 7, cf. sources I.8)

496 Only *niš Bābili* "people of Babylon" occurs frequently; e.g. Muses III.10b: 11, 12, 13, in contrast to the "scattered people" in ln. 16 (cf. n.122).

geographic locations rather than human relationships. In Middle Babylonian texts, they operate along two axes. The first is geographic names and gentilic names, and the second is the concept of nativeness.

Stories about the world and the past in Middle Babylonian literature often describe the actions of individuals instead of groups.[497] Where the activities of groups are described, they are typically described metonymically as a *mātu* "land," or by geographic name, such as "Babylon" or "Elam."[498] Thus group actions are often abstract—the activity of a generic crowd, of a land, its actions large and vague—in contrast to the specific actions of a king or a god, whose actions are detailed, specific, and therefore heroic.

Similarly, the names for collectives of people are derived from geography in the Middle Babylonian period. The primary identity marker for specific groups is the gentilic name, which appears periodically in literature and frequently in administrative documents. Gentilic names in Middle Babylonian are expressed as substantives and grammatically function as proper names. The gentilic name is usually the source for the translation of the name into English, e.g. *Kaššû* for Kassite, and *Amurrû* for Amorite.

In Akkadian, the standard gentilic name is a denominative (noun-derived), affirmative (suffix-declining) noun, formed by the addition of *-ī* to a geographic (place) name.[499] The

497 Foster describes the place of mankind as individuals in the world, rather than individuals in groups in the world. "Perhaps the most suggestive difference between Akkadian literature of the Classical and Mature periods is the place of mankind in the texts. Whereas in the Classical period man appears as an individual struggling in a difficult world, in the Mature period he is portrayed rather as a mortal lost in a vast, institutionalized cosmos." (Foster 2005: 297)

498 e.g. "O my warriors! The *mātu* of Kanesh[?], [...] thinks of war, (though) I made it submit." (Muses III.7a 1:5–6); "The possessions of Babylon will go to Subartu and the *mātu* of Assyria. The king of Babylon will send out the possessions of his palace to the prince of Assur in [Baltil]." (Muses III.8: iv 1'); "(To Shamash:) [Beloved of Enlil], leader of humankind[?], [faithful shepherd] of the people of this *mātu*." (Muses III.51o: 17–8)

499 Huehnergard 1996: 40; and Von Soden 1952: §56 [38].

apparent ending *-û* in many words is due to vowel contraction with the nominal case ending. For example, the place name *Akkad* becomes the gentilic substantive **Akkadī* +*u* > *Akkadû*. The resulting word form can be used as either a noun or adjective. A second form of Akkadian gentilic word is also known. It has been called the *nisba* by analogy with other Semitic languages, and philologists have argued that it was introduced to Akkadian by West Semitic influences in the second Millennium BCE.[500] The *nisba* is formed by the addition of the suffix *-āy* to a place name.[501] The result is combined with case endings normally and usually appears as an adjective. Examples of the *nisba* include *Lullubāyu* and *Bābilāyu*.[502] Several examples of both forms are listed in the translated sources below.[503]

The other category of place identity is the concepts of nativeness and foreignness. Compared to the other identities in this survey, it occurs very infrequently, but the concept appears to have become increasingly important over the course of the Middle Babylonian period. Nebuchadnezzar, in particular, stressed his "nativeness" in his political program.[504] The concept could be expressed in figurative language a variety of ways, but the central keyword was *zēru* GN "seed of GN."[505] In celebrating his victory over Elam, Nebuchadnezzar regularly claimed not only that he was materially victorious, but also that he deserved victory because of his royal Babylonian identity. This claim could be interpreted in a number of ways, and it may

500 Von Soden 1952: §56; Fales 2013: 52.

501 Von Soden 1952: §56 [37]; Note clarifications in Gelb 1955: 106.

502 PBS 2/2 132:133 and MRWH 22:5 respectively.

503 In the present study, these two forms are treated identically, and the translations makes no distinction between them.

504 Cf. Muses III.12a–e, esp. (a) "The Seed of Kingship" (appears as *II.2 below).

505 e.g. (Nebuchadnezzar I) "Scion of royalty remote (in time), *zēru* that has been watched for since before the deluge" (Muses III.12a: 8); "[thus says Nebuchadnezzar, viceroy] of Enlil, *zēru* of Babylon, the king, your lord" (RIMB 2 B.2.4.7: 3).

have been a reaction to the Elamite claim on the Babylonian throne on the basis of kinship with the Kassite ruling family, or it could be connected to the favor of Marduk, the Babylonian national god, whose statue Nebuchadnezzar "rescued" from Elam.[506]

The opposite of nativeness is, of course, foreignness. Nouns of foreignness include "stranger" (*ahû*) and "foreigner"(*nakaru*), but they appear rarely in the corpus.[507] It is more common to describe foreigners with negative adjectives, such as the "Gutium, a stupid people (I.3)" and "the Elamite [enemy]… the vile/alien (*nakru*) Elamite (I.1)."[508] This condescension towards enemies was not new in the late second millennium BCE and has a long history in Mesopotamia, but it gained new significance when paired with the new emphasis on nativeness. A similar development appears in Middle Assyrian texts from the same period.[509]

Introduction to the Sources

The remainder of the chapter presents a selection of textual sources in translation, organized by ethno-symbolic marker type, in order to demonstrate the articulation of ethnic features in the corpus of texts in the Middle Babylonian period. Each selection is introduced, summarized, and analyzed in terms of the ethnic markers it contains.

Dates for many of the following literary texts can be problematic. The literary texts included here have been assigned to this period on the basis of language, subject matter, form, personal names, and other historical data within the texts, but these criteria are often debated

506 For bibliography on the interpretations, see Foster 2005: 376–7.

507 Both terms appear in a proverb: "flesh is flesh, blood is blood./ *nakaru* is *nakaru*, *ahû* is *ahû*" (Muses III.16d 20b: 16–7).

508 Muses III.9 i 31–43 and Muses III.11b obv: 30, 33.

509 Foster 2005: 291–97.

and interpreted differently by various scholars.[510]

Unlike the previous chapters, this chapter supplements the purely literary materials with administrative documents in the following survey, because of a paucity of literary materials from the late second millennium BCE in Babylonia. This paucity reflects a general lack of interest in ethnological subjects by Babylonian writers of the period; but when combined with administrative texts, Middle Babylonian documents do provide a rich enough corpus to facilitate social and cultural studies to a similar degree as in our other case studies.[511] Administrative documents are the largest collection of historical materials for the Middle Babylonian corpus, and their study forms the majority of Middle Babylonian studies.[512]

The following texts were all written in the cuneiform script expressing the Akkadian language, an (Eastern) Semitic language that functioned as the *lingua franca* of the Near East from c. 2000–700 BCE. The majority of the literary texts were written in the Standard Babylonian dialect, while some others and all the administrative documents used Middle Babylonian.[513] Many Akkadian words are expressed with Sumerian logograms, which are written in capital letters.

Note that in the translation, empty brackets, [ ], indicate a break in the text, while words appearing wholly or partially inside the brackets are scholarly reconstructions, e.g. [rec]onstructed. Editorial redactions are used for convenience and written as [...]. All

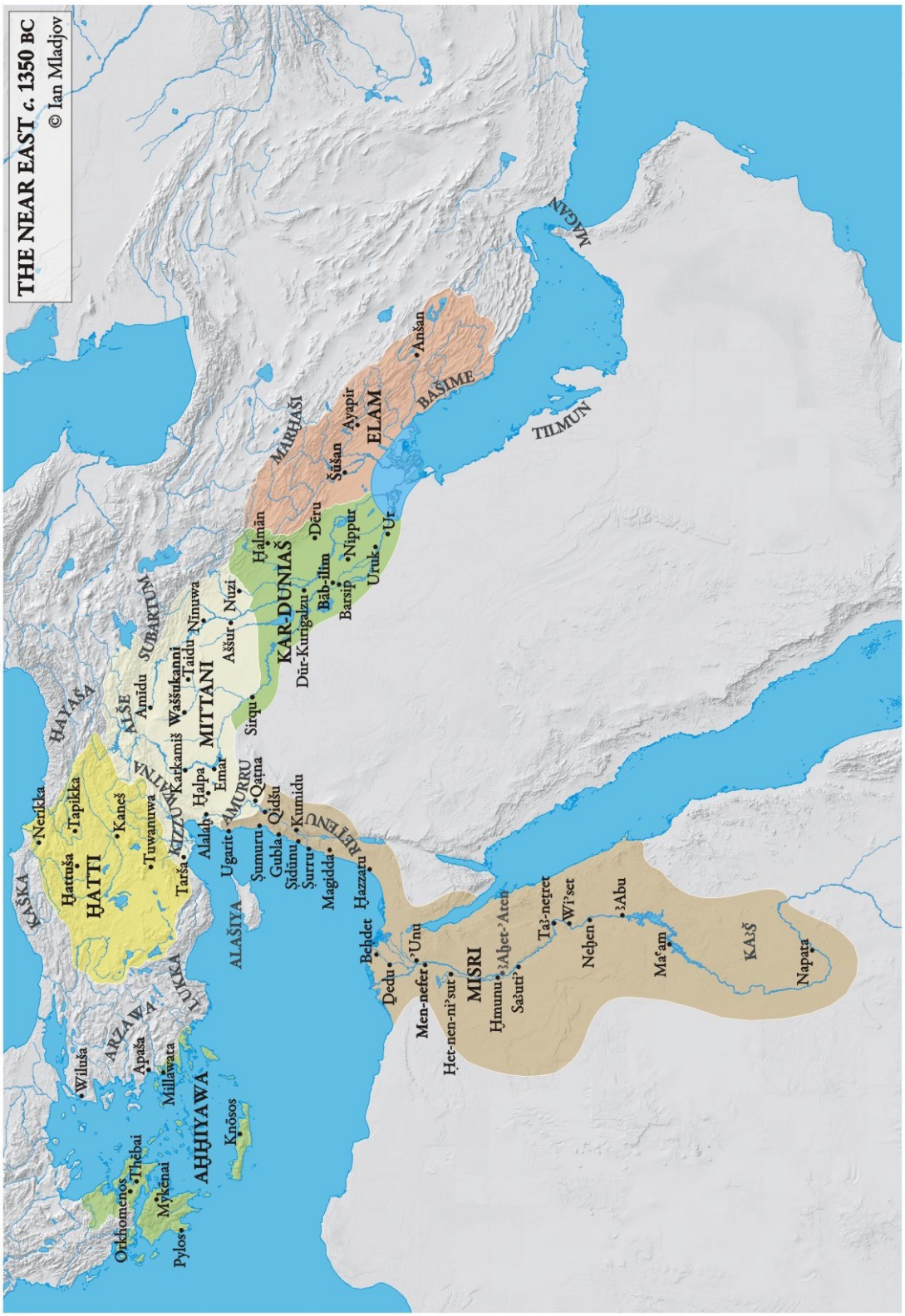
510 Foster 2005: 380.

511 See Foster 2005: 291–770 "Chapter III: The Mature Period (1500–1000 B.C.)" for Middle Babylonian literature in general.

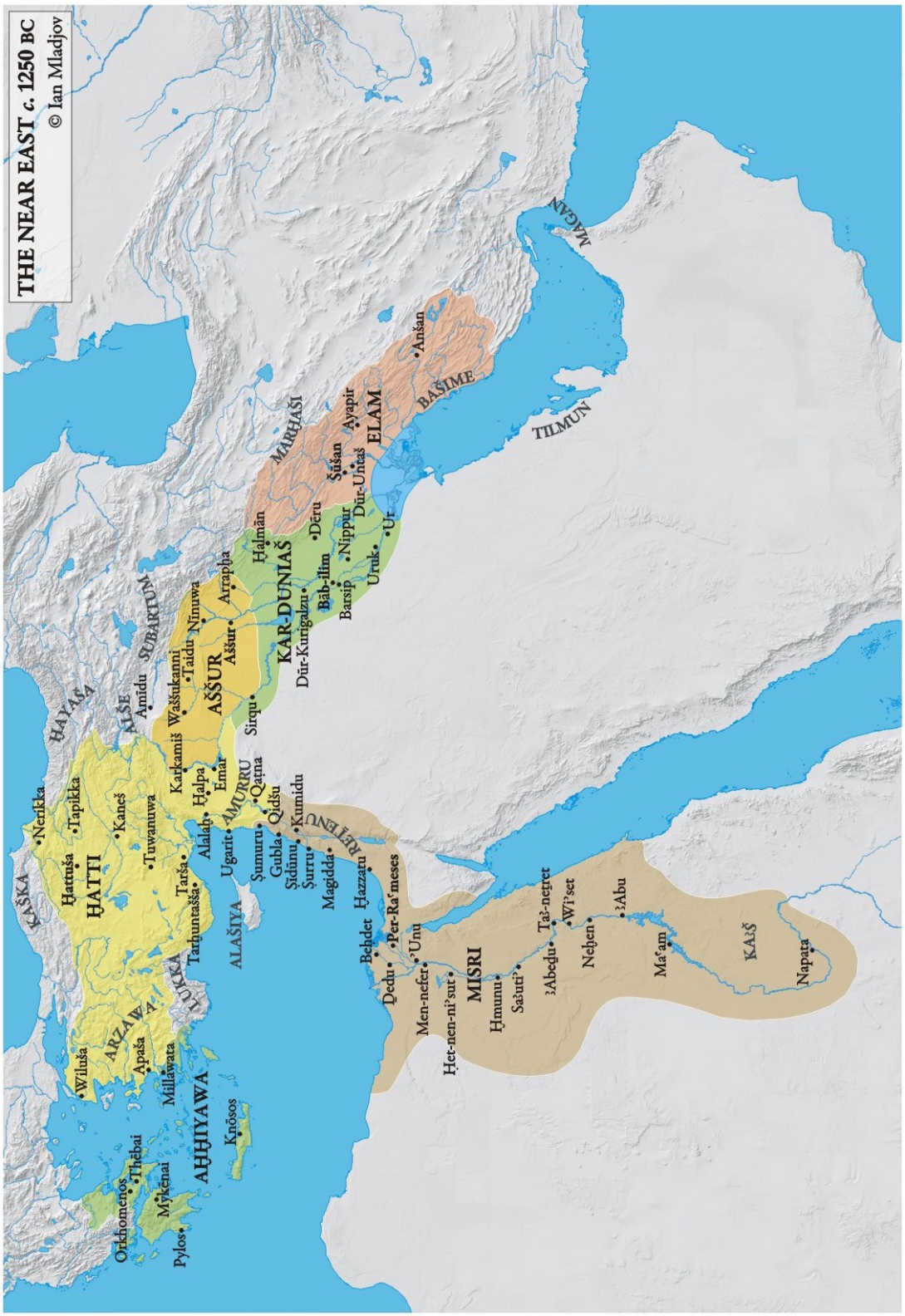
512 Brinkman 1976 is the foundational work of historiography of the period; See Sassmannshausen 2001a for the use of administrative texts as a source for historiography; See Paulus 2013 for the range and limitations of Middle Babylonian administrative texts.

513 Aro 1955 is the standard reference for Middle Babylonian dialectic features.

translations appearing below were adapted from published cuneiform sources in consultation with the works cited. A translation of the full text for each source can be found in Foster's *Before the Muses* (2005) unless indicated otherwise.



Map 3: The Ancient Near East c. 1350 BCE



Map 4: The Ancient Near East c. 1250 BCE

Sources I: Ethnonyms

Middle Babylonian texts contain a number of ethnonyms, though most of them only appear in administrative documents. Literary sources contain ethnonyms for individual kings and enemy groups, while administrative documents feature about a dozen different names. In both literary and administrative texts, Middle Babylonian names are formally gentilic so they are always derived from place-names.[514]

The standard literary people group is an enemy of Babylonia:

> **I.1 (The Elamite Attack on Nippur, rev. 30–6):** The *Elamite* [enemy] sent forth his chariotry, He headed downstream toward Borsippa, He came down the dark way, he entered Borsippa, The vile (*nakru*) *Elamite* topped its sanctuary. He slew the nobles [ ] with weapons, He [plun]dered all the temples. He took their possessions and carried them off to Elam. (Muses III.11b)

This fragmentary poetic narrative describes the Elamite attack on Babylonia and culminates in the conquest of Nippur, the religious capital of Babylonia.[515] The narrative describes the Elamites as plundering the cult centers of Babylonian cities, like Borsippa, and the Elamite king's unwillingness to defile the supreme center of Nippur. In the text, the king is not named, but is instead described by the gentilic name "Elamite." He is an enemy (of Babylonia), and he is vile and foreign. The passage also conveniently shows the relationship between a geographic name, Elam, and an associated gentilic name, Elamite.

Groups of people could appear in narratives about the distant past:

> **I.2 (Shulgi Prophecy, iii):** All lands are given as one to the king of Babylon and

514 See Place Identities (above) for details.

515 The tablet dates to the Persian period (sixth to fourth century BCE) but is associated with this period on the basis of its subject matter (Foster 2005: 369).

> Nippur. Whichever king shall arise after me, on account of(?) Balda[ha] (and) the land of Elam to the east, he will be [thrown into] complete [disorder]. The *Hittites* will [conquer] Babylon [ ]. (Muses III.8)

This strange tale is narrated by Shulgi, a Sumerian king from the end of the third millennium BCE, and alludes to future events in Babylonia. The text's composition is thought to date to the late second millennium because of the emphasis on Babylon and Nippur, capital cities in this period.[516] The quoted passage describes the Hittite invasion of Mesopotamia and the conquest of Babylon, which created the conditions for the ascension of the Kassite dynasty to the throne. The Hittites were people dwelling in the land of Hatti, in Anatolia, and they were another "Great Kingdom" in the Middle Babylonian period.

The identity of the "Babylonians" during the Middle Babylonian period is uncertain. One literary text provides two possibilities:

> **I.3 (Agum-Kakrime and the Return of Marduk, i 31):** King of the *Kassites* and *Akkadians*, king of the wide land of Babylonia, he who made the numerous peoples of Eshnunna to settle down; king of Padan and Alman, king of Gutium, a stupid people, king who caused the four world regions to submit, favorite of the great gods am I! (Muses III.9)

This important text is known from a mid-first millennium manuscript that purports a first-person account of Agum-Kakrime, an early king of the Kassite dynasty.[517] The text introduces the king by using traditional Babylonian formulas (see *III.1), then gives a lengthy description of how the king brought (the statue of) Marduk, chief god of Babylon, back to his city after the

516 Foster 2005: 357.

517 The name is partly broken and could be restored differently. There is a question about the authenticity of the composition, and it may have been written after the Middle Babylonian period. I accept it as a (probably late) Middle Babylonian inscription on the basis of the Marduk theology in the text. See Foster 2005: 360; Chavalas (Van Koppen) 2006: 135–9; Stein 2000: 150–165.

Hittites removed him (see I.2). The quoted passage names Kassite people and Akkadian people, as well as the lands of Babylonia, Eshnunna, Padan, Alman, and Gutium.

The term "Akkadian," is the gentilic name for residents of the city of Agade, but it had also become a name for the residents of Babylonia as a whole by the Middle Babylonian period.[518] The next phrase makes this explicit, when it calls the "king of the Akkadians" the king of the wide land of Babylonia. The additional reference to a "Kassite" population is highly unusual, and very few kings of the Kassite dynasty ever used the term in royal inscriptions.[519] Eshnunna was a city in northeastern corner of Babylonia in the Diyala valley. It is unclear who the "numerous peoples" of Eshnunna were. Padan, Alman, and Gutium are names for countries in the Zagros mountains and fall outside the normal boundaries of Babylonia. The line is a good demonstration of the idea that foreign people are often described as lands metonymically—the text explicitly refers to the land of Gutium (*māt Guti*) and then describes it as a "stupid people." Finally, their description as "stupid" is an example of the typically negative portrayal of foreigners.

Ethnonyms are usually nouns:

> **I.4 (Kudur-Nahhunte and the Babylonians, rev. 4–9):** He (Marduk) decreed for them the punishment that [ ] in Babylon, pr[aise]worthy city. He decreed for them the property of the Babylonians, young and o[ld ….]. With their firm counsel, they established the [ ] of Kudur-nahhunte, king of Elam. Now, one who is pleasing to them [ ] will exercise kingship in Babylon (*Bābili*), the city of Babylonia (*Karduniaš*) [ ]. In Babylon, city of the king of the gods, Marduk, they have set up [his? thr]one. (Muses III.11a)

518 Sassmannshausen 2001b: 132; Brinkman 2004: 285.

519 See Kassites (I.15–16) below.

This text is from the same collection as I.1.[520] It is a correspondence between Kudur-nahhunte and the Babylonians in which the Elamite king presses his claim to the vacant throne of Babylon based on his descent from a Kassite king through his maternal heritage, but the Babylonians reject his claim. The quoted passage shows variations on the name Babylon (the city *Bābil* and the territorial state *Karduniaš*), including the people group "Babylonians," where the term is a noun. In Middle Babylonian literary texts, names are always nouns.

Ethnonyms are commonly nouns in administrative texts, but adjectives also appear:

> **I.5 (Document recording the distribution of garments):** total 14 woolen garments, received by the Elamite singers. [ ] 10 shirts [ ] of blue wool, 4 of the same for prayer, total 14 woolen garments, received by Subartean singers.[521]

This record is from Dur-Kurigalzu, one of the capital cities of the Kassite dynasty. It describes the distribution of garments, and in this case, garments allocated to singers. The singers are described by the gentilic adjectives "Elamite" and "Subartean." Subartu was a name for northern Mesopotamia and could be a synonym for Assyria.

Unlike the previous two case studies, no social hierarchies of people groups can be detected in the Middle Babylonian documents. Words for humankind in general, however, are common and frequently appear in mythological texts and prayers.

Humans are known by many names:

> **I.6 (Prayer to Any God, 50–55):** How long, O goddess, whosoever you are,

520 Foster 2005: 369.

521 Gurney Iraq 11 7:5–10.

> until your estranged heart is reconciled? Humans are slow-witted and know nothing, No matter how many names they go by, what do they know? They do not know at all if they are doing good or evil! O (my) lord, do not cast off your servant, He is mired in a morass, help him! (Muses III.56)

According to a note on the tablet, this address, consisting of a prayer, confession, lament, and concluding supplication, could be used for any deity.[522] The quoted passage comes from the supplication, where the speaker describes humankind as unintelligent despite their many different names. It links the multitude of peoples into a common frailty as human beings. As a marker of identity types, it portrays human beings as a single humankind divided by names into discrete peoples.

Another text shows people as numerous and scattered:

> **I.7 (Prayer to Shamash and Marduk, 1–15):** O ever-renewing Shamash, perpetual light of the gods, O Marduk, ordainer of destinies, Who can make short times long, Who can gather in scattered people, You are the ones who can bring together people who are far apart, can bring together the fugitive, the absconded. […] Obliterate the unhappiness from our hearts, Make our lives longer, grant us years of life into the future. [Let me] sound your praises to the numerous people. (Muses III.53)

This prayer formed part of a ritual to reconcile estranged couples and to reunite lost or separated people.[523] The phrases "numerous people" and "scattered people" occur in multiple texts and are a recurring motif in Middle Babylonian literature stressing the multitude of peoples.

Humankind is composed of numerous peoples:

> **I.8 (Hymn to Foremost of the Gods, 1–7):** O Marduk, great lord, foremost one of heaven and netherworld […] Merciful god, who accepts prayers, Who receives entreaties, Who watches over the life of humankind, […] Bringer of

522 Foster 2005: 763.

523 Foster 2005: 757.

abundance, who makes abundant grain for the numerous peoples! (Muses III.44h)

This passage is from a hymn to Marduk, the preeminent deity of Babylonia. The speaker calls out to Marduk in his capacity as the guardian of all mankind and, in singing his praises, credits the god with support for the multitude of peoples in the world. The text is useful for identity research because it combines the themes of the previous two sources and explicitly describes humankind as a single body of human beings made up of numerous peoples.

So who are these peoples? We saw examples of "Akkadians," "Babylonians," Hittites, and Elamites in the sources above. This is the complete list of people group names in Middle Babylonian literature, but in fact many more peoples are mentioned in the administrative documents from the period. The next eight sources illustrate the eleven ethno-national names that appear in the corpus.[524]

Aḫlamean:

I.9 (Document recording the distribution of flour and barley): 10 liters of flour, 20 liters of barley, received by Yanzû the Aḫlamean.[525]

The term "Aḫlamean" (*Aḫlamû*) refers to territorial regions northwest of Babylonia, specifically to presumably nomadic people from those regions.[526] Individuals called by these labels show evidence of Northwest Semitic grammar in their names. The Aḫlameans are well attested in

524 Ethnonyms associated with cities and other minor locations are not mentioned here. For a complete list of the gentilic words appearing in published texts, see Nashef 1982.

525 BE 15 168: 16.

526 See Sassmannshausen 2001b: 130 for a summary of Aḫlameans in the Middle Babylonian period.

the corpus of administrative documents, and the references usually describe groups of workmen. Scholars have typically associated the Aḫlameans with Arameans on the basis of linguistic and geographic similarities, but it is unclear what relationship they share, if any.[527] The Suteans may also be connected to these groups.[528]

Akkadian/Babylonian and Assyrian:

> **I.10 (Document recording the distribution of flour to groups of laborers):** 10 workers, 384 liters of flour, received by the Akkadians; 10 workers, 424 liters of flour, received by the sons of the *hazannu*-mayor; [...] 26 workers, [ ]+3 liters of flour, received by the Assyrians [...] Total: 75 workers, 3126 liters of flour, are the rations of the workmen of the labor of the house of [ ] Month of Abum (July-August), day 1 [ ], year 1 of (King) Kashtiliashu('s reign).[529]

This document records the distribution of flour as rations to a series of work teams. The first line mentions "Akkadians," the omitted second, third, and fourth lines note the rations received by the "sons of PN", and the fifth line mentions "Assyrians." The end of the text makes clear that these are flour rations distributed to work teams.

The term Akkadian literally means a resident of the city of Akkad/Agade. The term can also be the name of a resident of the territorial state of Babylonia in some periods. It is unclear which meaning is intended in the quoted passage.[530]

The term Assyrian literally refers to a resident of the city of Assur, in northern Mesopotamia. During the later centuries of the late second millennium BCE, the Assyrians

527 The details and bibliography can be found in Szuchman 2007.

528 Sassmannshausen 2001b: 130.

529 MUN 114.

530 See Sassmannshausen 2001b: 132 for a summary of "Akkadians" in the Middle Babylonian period.

replaced the Mittani as the power in that region, and "Assyrian" could refer to a resident of anywhere in the territory under Assyrian control.[531] Kashtiliashu engaged in hostilities with the Assyrians that would ultimately lead to his capture and defeat.[532] These Assyrian workers may have been captives captured as prisoners of war.[533] Subarteans "northerners" could also refer to Assyrians, but the term appears rarely in the corpus (e.g. I.5 above).

Amorite:

> **I.11 (Document recording the distribution of barley to women):** 600 liters barley, received by the daughter of PN_1; 600 liters barley, received by the daughter of PN_2, 200 liters barley, received by Ṣundurtu the female-Amorite,[534]

Amorite individuals are mentioned rarely in the corpus. The term, Amorite (*Amurrû*), was associated with the region west of Mesopotamia, and the while the term could be translated as "westerner," it was associated with a specific culture of Amorite (a Western Semitic language) speaking people from Syria who periodically held control of places in Babylonia and elsewhere.

Elamite, Lullubian, and Hanigalbatean:

> **I.12 (Document recording the distribution of barley[?] to household[?] staff):** [ ] of the *kandalu* (a household utensil?); [ ] liters of barley[?], received by Kar[?]-ub-Marduk the Elamite, An[gal] the Elamite; [ ] liters of barely[?], received by Kidin-Marduk the Lullubian; [ ] liters of barley[?], received by Usatusha the wood-carrier son of Mansu[ ]; [ ] liters, year 12 of Kurigalzu('s reign); [ ] liters of barley[?], received by Habikinu (son of) Sitta; [ ] liters of barley[?], received by Turari-Teshup (son of) Shu-ka[?][ ];[ ] liters of barley[?]

531 See Sassmannshausen 2001b: 131 for a summary of Assyrians in the Middle Babylonian period.

532 Chavalas 2006: 145–6.

533 Tenney 2011: 122-5.

534 BE 15 152: 1–4.

> Belet-Abisha (daughter of) Tud[ ], [ ] liters of barley[?] Ululitu (daughter of) Amba[ ]; [ ] Hanigalbateans [ ]; [ ] Shamash-nuri (son of) Hu[ ].[535]

This document is badly damaged and difficult to read, but from the format and visible signs it appears to be a record of a ration distribution to the workers of the *kandalu*, a very poorly attested word that might be a type of household utensil,[536] so perhaps these are household staff. The text is interesting because of the number of descriptive labels that are attached to some of the individuals. Kar[?]-ub-Marduk is described as an Elamite, as is whoever is listed after him. Kidin-Marduk is a Lullubian, and four people at the end (Habikinu, Turari-Teshup, Belet-Abisha, and Ululitu) are described as Hanigalbateans (two males, two females).

Elamites have appeared in several of the quoted passages above (I.1, I.2, I.4, I.5). They were the archetypical enemy of the Middle Babylonian kings who dwelled east of Babylonian in the western region of modern day Iran,[537] but Elamites are frequently named as recipients of rations in the administrative documents as well.[538]

"Lullubian" (*Lullumāyu*) was an anachronistic term in the late second millennium for "mountain dweller of the Zagros Mountains."[539] The term was derived from the archetypical mountain enemy of the Akkadians in myths describing the third millennium and became a name for "mountain barbarian" in this period.[540] Lullubians are fairly well attested as servile workers in the administrative documents.[541]

---

535 MUN 85.

536 CAD K s.v. *kandalu*.

537 For an overview of the Elamites and bibliography see Potts 1999.

538 See Sassmannshausen 2001b: 133 for a summary of Elamites in the Middle Babylonian period.

539 wr. lul^{lu-ul}-ma-a-ú here but there are many variations. See Nashef 1982: 182 (*māt-Lullubî*).

540 Foster 2005: 383.

541 See Sassmannshausen 2001b: 150 for a summary of Lullubeans in the Middle Babylonian period.

Hanigalbat was the name of the Mittanni great kingdom, which was located in northern Mesopotamia and Syria during the early centuries of the Middle Babylonian period. The kingdom was one of the first major powers to emerge after the fall of (old) Babylon around 1500 BCE but slid into decline around 1350 BCE. Many questions remain about the identity and society of the Mittannians because their capital city has never been located, and no major archive of the state has been found.[542] The Mittanians are often called Hurrians in contemporary inscriptions, but many questions remain about the significance of the label, which is primarily a linguistic designation.[543] "Hanigalbatean" (*Ḫabigalbatû*) is a gentilic name indicating a person from the region of Hanigalbat, and in the later centuries of the Middle Babylonian period it may have been extended to mean Hurrian generally.

The gentilic name "Hanigalbatean" appears rarely in the administrative documents, but other "Hurrian" labels are relatively common. Modern scholars have associated two more labels with Hurrian identities: Arrapḫean and Arunaean, and examples appear below. Many Hanigalbatean "Hurrians" are mentioned among the servile population in the period.[544]

Arrapḫaean:

> **I.13 (Document recording the collection of barley[?] from individuals):**
> [ ] liters of barley[?], received from Amil-Uruk the Arrapḫaean; [ ] liters of barley[?], received from the same;[545]

Arrapḫa was a city northeast of Babylonia in the Upper Euphrates region and the seat of a local kingdom. Early in the Middle Babylonian period, the kingdom was under Mittannian

542 Van De Mieroop 2007b: 17.

543 Van De Mieroop 2007b: 18, 200; see Wilhelm 1989 for a summary of the issues and bibliography.

544 Tenney 2011: 123, 128–9.

545 PBS 2/2 18: 27–8; The name Amīl-Uruk also appears in BE 15 168: 13 and PBS 2/2 130: i 18', but without the *Arrapḫāyu* descriptor.

control and became vassals of Assyria when they became ascendant. Records from the area of nearby Nuzi show a predominance of Hurrian names, and the region and label is typically associated with the "Hurrian" Hanigalbateans as a result.[546]

Arunaean:

> **I.14 (Document recording the distribution of barley[?] to individuals):** 0 liters of barley[?], received by Taena the Arunaean;[547]

Aruna was a distant city located in southern Anatolia on the Mediterranean and thought to lie between the Mittannian capital, Kizzuwatna, and the region of Hatti.[548] Scholars associate them with Hurrians because of the location of the site and the linguistic elements of Arunaeans' names, but why the Babylonian scribes identified and emphasized this city in particular is unclear.

Kassite:

> **I.15 (Document recording the distribution/receipt of various goods from/by individuals):**[549] [ ] 915 liters of barley?, 0 liters of flour, 110 liters of malt, 3 liters of beer-bread, 5 (clay) pots, 70 liters of garlic, received from/by Tukulti-Ninurta; [...] received from/by Uthapta'e the Arrapḫaean; [...] received from/by the son of Hudiya, the same (=Arrapḫaean); [...] received from/by Kulkulu the Kassite; [...] received from/by Hun[ ] the horse groom;[550]

> **I.16 (Document recording the collection of animal products from a community):** Collection of year 8, Mannu-ki-Addu (is the) overseer, Arad-Baba

546 See Sassmannshausen 2001b: 133 for a survey of Arrapḫaeans in the administrative corpus.

547 BE 15 198: iv 101.

548 See Tenney 2011: 122.

549 Some administrative documents do not provide verbs indicating which direction the goods are moving. This contents of this text provide compelling reasons to consider the goods moving in either direction so I preserved the ambiguity in the translation. See Sassmannshausen 2001b: 256.

550 MUN 72: 11–5.

(is the) *hazannu*-mayor, Mandar-Ban (is the) Kassite.[551]

The ruling dynasty of Babylon and Babylonia, for the majority of the Middle Babylonian period, is associated with a "Kassite" identity. The Kassite people originated from outside Mesopotamia, but quickly adapted to Babylonian culture once they appear in the historical record.[552] They spoke a language unrelated to Akkadian and Sumerian and worshiped non-Babylonian deities in addition to traditional Babylonian gods (see *III.1 below).[553] They have been discussed frequently throughout this chapter, but see in particular sources I.3 above. The precise meaning of the term "Kassite" in the Middle Babylonian texts is not entirely clear because the term is connected, in different ways, to the royal dynasty of Babylon, and to various soldiers, but also to shepherds and servile laborers.[554]

In the first quoted passage (I.15), we see a typical descriptor of a Kassite, in this case Kulkulu, listed on a roster of individuals interacting with an official institution. The document also mentions two Arrapḫeans (see I.13), and the Kassite, Kulkulu, does not appear to have any special significance. In the second passage (I.16), we see another standard usage of the term "Kassite," but in this case the Kassite, Mandar-Ban, is listed as an office among a sequence of officials. This formula was conventional for documents recording the collection of agricultural and shepherding products from nearby provinces so presumably a "Kassite" was a position of rank and of some importance. It is unclear how these two "Kassite" labels are connected, and indeed, it is quite surprising how rare the term "Kassite" appears at all considering the

551 MUN 329 14–6.

552 See Sassmannshausen 1999.

553 See Brinkman 1976–80 for a general introduction to Kassite society and people.

554 See survey in Sassmannshausen 2001b: 137–149; The MB use of the term *Kaššû* was the subject of my paper at the Karduniaš conference in 2012, to be published in a forthcoming volume. See Shelley 2015.

influence of the Kassite dynasty in this period.

Ullipian

> **I.17 (Document recording a roster of personnel):** (following a list of servants) Male-worker: Bana-sha-Adad, (date-)gardener; Male-worker: Rimut-Gula, reed-worker; Male-worker: Asushu-namir, bird-catcher; Total: 3 Ullipians.[555]

The term "Ullipian" is very rare, but at least three administrative documents describe "Ullipian" individuals in the corpus. The term may refer to the Elippi, which may be identified as a region in the Zagros mountains in the first millennium.[556]

Sources II: Ethnic ancestor myths

Despite the Babylonians' fascination with the past, and despite their patronymic naming conventions and general fondness for keeping records, no ethnological writings concerning the foundation myths or stories of specific people groups has ever been found from the Middle Babylonian period. This is surprising. Elite Babylonians did have a tradition of writing about their own ancestry to justify their rightful claim to rule, and Babylonians did write down historical myths about the past for various reasons (e.g. I.2 above).[557] They also recognized a diversity of peoples (e.g. I.7, I.8) and possessed a sense of cultural superiority (e.g. I.3), yet these traditions had not joined into the production of ethnological works, as myth or history, during the second millennium BCE.[558] The Epic of Creation (*Enūma Eliš*) features no "Table of

555 MRWH 51: rev. 4'–7'.

556 Sassmannshausen 2001b: 151.

557 See Lambert 1957 for the general use of ancestor names in Akkadian; See Van De Mieroop 1999 historical writing in Mesopotamia.

558 These elements certainly recurred and combined various ways in the creation the historiographical and mythological writings of Assyria and Babylonia in the first millennium BCE, but those works fall outside the scope of the present project.

Nations," and no Middle Babylonian royal inscription includes a "Catalog of Ships." There are no ethnic ancestor myths in Middle Babylonian texts.

Texts that feature ancestors were exclusively tied to individuals during the second millennium BCE in Babylonia.

The following example contains a traditional invocation of ancestors for a Babylonian king:

> ***II.1 (Kurigalzu and the Ishtar Temple, i 1–15):** Kurigalzu, great king, mighty king, king of the universe, favorite of Anu and Enlil, nominated (for kingship) by the lord of the gods am I! King who has no equal among all kings his ancestors, son of [Kadash]man-Harbe, unrivaled king, who completed the fortifications of [ ], who [fin]ished the Ekur, who [prov]ides for Ur and Uruk, who [guar]antees the rites of Eridu, who constructed the temples of Anu and Ishtar, who [guarantees] the regular offerings of the great gods. (Muses III.10a)

Kurigalzu was a king of the Kassite dynasty. He declares himself to be the son of Kadashman-Harbe, who was an "unrivaled king," but he also states that all his ancestors had been kings. Kurigalzu is declaring the absolute purity of his royal lineage. This format and style had been a characteristic of Babylonian kings for many centuries by the Middle Babylonian period, but texts like this are not ethnic markers because their ancestors are not explicitly identified by ethnonym or cultural label.

An inscription of Nebuchadnezzar is similar:

> ***II.2 (The Seed of Kingship, 4–24):** [Nebuchadnezzar], king of Babylon, who sets [in order a]ll cult centers, who maintains regular offerings, Scion of royalty remote (in time), seed that has been watched for since before the deluge, Descendant of Enmedura[nki], king of Sippar, […] The land was diminished, its counsel changed, The vile (*nakru*) Elamite, who did not hold precious [the gods], whose battle was swift, whose onslaught was quick to come, Laid waste the habitations, ravaged the gods, turned the sanctuaries into ruins! (Muses III.12a)

Nebuchadnezzar, like Kurigalzu, claims royal lineage, but in this passage the king claims to be descended from a legendary king, Enmeduranki of Sippar. Such a royal line would predate both the Kassite and even older Amorite dynasties, so the claim functions as a declaration of extreme nativeness. This is further emphasized by the later section that highlights his opponent, the Elamite king, as vile/alien (*nakru*) and impious (cf. I.1). Although this passage is shows the use of ancestry to claim royal legitimacy, it is not a specifically ethnic marker because it is not linked to a named identity or people type.

A third inscription shows someone with non-royal ancestry:

> ***II.3 (Nebuchadnezzar in Elam, 35–43):** Shitti-Marduk, head of the house of Bit-Karziabku, whose chariot did not lag behind the king's right flank, and who held his chariot ready, he feared no battle (but) went down to the enemy and went farthest in against the enemy of his lord. By the command of Ishtar and Adad, gods who are the lords of battle, he routed Hulteludish, king of Elam, he disappeared. Thus king Nebuchadnezzar triumphed, seized Elam, and plundered its possessions. (Muses III.12c)

This inscription appears on a stone monument commemorating a grant of land and exemptions by Nebuchadnezzar I to one of his officers in the Elamite campaign.[559] Shitti-Marduk is described as the head of the Bit-Karziabku"house," a designation associated with the provincial organization of Kassite Babylonia and possibly a Kassite tribe or clan identity. The expression *Bīt* PN means "house of PN," and the personal name in these expressions is thought to be a real or perhaps fictitious ancestor.[560] As a member of the house of Karziabku, Shitti-Marduk claims to be a descendant of someone named Karziabku, but no cultural details concerning the house are known. This passage is like the previous two, demonstrating ancestry as a symbol of identity for an individual, but it says nothing about an ethnic group or the individual's

559 Foster 2005: 383.

560 See discussion in Kinship Identities above.

ethnicity.

These three texts illustrate the limitations of ancestry as a symbol in the Middle Babylonian corpus. No ethnic ancestry myths can be found.

Sources III: Ethnic histories

Ethnic histories differ from ethnic ancestor myths by providing a narrative of the events that happen to specific ethnies. While ethnic ancestor myths provide a story about where a particular ethnic group comes from, an ethnic history explains how the group became recognizable in the present. Unfortunately, as with the previous marker type, we search in vain through the Middle Babylonian corpus for ethnic histories. While national identities are an increasingly important characteristic of the period in both Assyria and Babylonia, they are constructed as narratives about the heroism and loyalty of individual kings. No narrative histories of groups are known from this period.

Examples of individual heroism include I.1, I.3, I.4, *II.1, *II.2, and *II.3. National labels referring to groups do appear in I.2 (Hittites, etc.), but the events occur entirely in the distant past. The present of the Middle Babylonian period looked different from the period being described in these texts, and their narratives say virtually nothing about the national groups, which appear as archetypical, generic enemies.

As an additional example of nationalistic, individual heroism, the following excerpt is the preceding portion of the same text as I.3:

> ***III.1 (Agum-Kakrime and the Return of Marduk, i 1–30):** [Agum]-kakrime, son of Tashigurumash, pure offspring of (the god) Shuqamuna, whom

> Anu and Enlil, Ea and Marduk, Sin and Shamash nominated (for kingship), the mighty man of Ishtar, the most warlike of goddesses am I! Intelligent and understanding king, obedient and conciliatory king, son of Tashshigurumash, descendant of Abirattash, the valorous [man] among his [brethren?], lawful heir of Agum the elder, pure offspring, royal offspring, who holds firm the leadline of humankind(?), shepherd, lordly one am I! Shepherd of numerous humankind, warrior, shepherd who makes secure his ancestral house am I! (continues in I.3)
>
> (i 44–ii 8) When Marduk, lord of Esagila and Babylon, (and) the great gods ordered with their holy command his [ret]urn to Babylon (and?) Marduk had set his face toward Babylon, [I prayed to?] Marduk, [ ] my prayers. I carefully planned to fetch Marduk and toward Babylon did I set his face. I went to the assistance of Marduk, who loves my reign. (Muses III.9)

The passage introduces Agum-Kakrime with the patronymic formula and then identifies him as a descendant of divinity. Interestingly, Shaqamuna is a non-Babylonian, Kassite deity. The text elaborates on the king's ancestry in order to highlight his royal lineage. The first section concludes with the assignment of "numerous humankind," which was discussed above, to his supervision. The second section appears in I.3 above. The third section begins the historical narrative, describing in a heroic fashion how it was Agum-Kakrime alone who rescued (the statue of) Marduk from exile. The text continues by describing the heroic rescue and the statue's installation in the temple. Texts like this are the closest we come to finding ethnic histories in the Middle Babylonian, but the markers they contain fall short of being markers of ethnic history.

Sources IV: Ethnic cultural elements

Middle Babylonian texts present a number of ethnic cultural elements. Explicit references to cultural elements are limited, but several suggestive markers of difference can be interpreted as cultural elements with contextual information and supporting research. The

following survey samples some of the possible markers among both the explicit and analytical markers.[561]

Explicit markers of difference include languages, religions, names, and holidays, while analytical markers include art historical symbols and archaeological patterns.

Language could be a cultural marker:

> **IV.1 (Neo-Assyrian lexical list):** [ ]-bi | in the [ ] (language); [ ] | in the Am[?]-[ ] (language); [ ] | in the Kassite (language); [ ] | in the same; [ ] | in the same; [ ] | in the one (language) of the land of [ ].[562]

This text fragment post-dates the Middle Babylonian period, but it concerns a key language from the period: the Kassite language. The text was a lexical list enumerating non-Akkadian words and their place of origin. In the quoted passage, the document describes a few words as being Kassite. Similarly, a Kassite-Babylonian vocabulary containing translations of Kassite deities and basic Kassite words into Akkadian is known from the Middle Babylonian period.[563] When considered together, these two texts make it clear that language was a marker of specific cultural difference. In this case, a Kassite could be marked by the use of the Kassite language.

Religion could be a cultural marker:

> **IV.2 (Selected names with Amorite theophoric elements):** "(Divine) Amorite has given me a brother" (*Amurru-aḫa-iddina*); "(Divine) Amorite has created" (*Amurru-ibni*); "(Divine) Amorite is the giver of the brother" (*Amurru-*

561 In anthropological archaeological terms, explicit markers are methodologically *iconological*, while analytical markers are *isochrestic* (cf. Sackett 1982).

562 CT 14 35 79-7-8, 187: 14'–19'.

563 Text appears in Pinches 1917; updated and analyzed in detail in detail in Balkan 1954.

nādin-ahhē).[564]

Not only were particular gods associated with specific people groups, the name of some gods was the group's ethnonym. The names of these gods could appear in the personal names of individuals, and it would be difficult to imagine someone being named after the god of a specific people without having a personal connection to that group's identity. Names with theophoric elements tied to ethnonyms are confined to (Divine) Amorite (*^{d}Amurru*) and (Divine) Assyria (*^{d}Aššur*) until after the Middle Babylonian period, when the practice becomes more widespread in Mesopotamia. A god "Kassite" and "Kassite Goddess" appear in names very soon after the Isin II dynasty, for example.[565]

Names could also be explicit cultural markers:

> **IV.3 (Selected gentilic names used as personal names):** "Ms. Aḫlamean" (*^{f}Aḫlamītu*),[566] "Mr. Akkadian" (*^{m}Akkadû*),[567] "Ms. Akkadian" (*^{f}Akkadētu*),[568] "Mr. Babylonian" (*^{m}Bābilāyu*), "Mr. Elamite" (*^{m}Elamû*),[569] "Ms. Elamite" (*^{f}Elamītu*),[570] "Mr. Isinean" (*^{m}Isināyu*),[571] "Mr. Kassite" (*^{m}Kaššû*),[572] and "Ms. Kassite" (*^{f}Kaššītu*).[573]

Several gentilic names appear explicitly as personal names of individuals in the administrative documents. These are explicit references, not scholarly (ethnolinguistic) inferences based on

564 BE 14 118: 24; BE 15 142: 8; and BE 14 168: 30 respectively (cf. Hölscher 1996: 30–1).

565 See Beaulieu 1995 for a summary of ethnic deities as cultural symbols.

566 BE 15 188: v 11.

567 BE 17 11: 26.

568 BE 15 185: 21.

569 BE 14 7: 2.

570 Gurney Iraq 11 147 8: rev.$^{?}$ 24.

571 BE 17 75: 5.

572 MUN 93: iv 12'.

573 MRWH 14: 15'.

the language employed in the form of name. These are certainly cultural ascriptions in every case, but it is unclear if the word is the name the person actually used or an administrative shorthand or nickname. They may have even been pejoratives. Male names tend to appear as parents in patronymics while female names tend to appear without patronymics in distribution texts, but exceptions do occur. Complicating the meaning of these names is the example of "Mr. Kassite" in the passage: he is listed among a series of people all of whom have names in the Hurrian language, not Kassite or Babylonian.

Indirect references to festivals and holidays could have been cultural markers:

> **IV.4 (The Poem of the Righteous Sufferer, II 10–17):** What bizarre actions everywhere! I looked behind: persecution, harassment! Like one who had not made libations to his god, Nor invoked his goddess with a food offering, Who was not wont to prostrate, nor seen to bow down, From whose mouth supplication and prayer were wanting, Who skipped holy days, despised festivals, Who was neglectful, omitted the gods' rites (Muses III.14)

The Poem of the Righteous Sufferer is a poetic monologue with accompanying hymns that tells how a wealthy courtier is driven to disgrace and affliction by the god Marduk. The story provides a long series of rightful relations and things in the negative as they are turned against the speaker much like the story of Job in the bible. After the king, the court, his family and staff all turn against him, he reaches out to his god, his goddess, and specialists of divine knowledge, but they all treat him as an impious figure. In the description of the bizarre order of things that has been inverted, the celebrations of holy days and festivals are both included in the list of things that should have been rightfully observed but were not. Although not specifically highlighted as associated with any specific god, culture, or community, the

inclusion of such a concept in a list like this suggests that festivals and holidays were prevalent and important cultural forms, and it seems reasonable to imagine that they could considered ethno-religious markers as a result.

Finally, modern scholars of Babylonian cultures have ascribed several cultural markers to various groups, such as art styles or patterns in the archaeological record. These markers, while interesting and important in their own right, are ambiguous markers of identity since they lack explicit reference to symbols of alterity. They are always (etic) ascriptions and cannot provide insight into the subjective, social experience of the Babylonian scribes. Consequently, they are not included in the present study, but such markers do suggest the possible ways our picture of Middle Babylonian cultural elements could be extended by other types of research. This includes: a possible "Kassite style" robe with the hem cut back at an angle,[574] the "Kassite" art styles on boundary stones and cylinder seals,[575] perhaps a "Kassite" grave style,[576] and maybe even a "Kassite" provincial organization and government.[577]

Sources V: Ethnic homelands

Gentilic names in the Middle Babylonian corpus are almost universally associated with geographic territories because of the grammatical form of the ethnonyms. Ethnonyms in Babylonian are usually derived from place names as discussed in Sources I. Thus identifying

574 Collon 1987: 58.

575 Seidl 1989: 210–1; Collon 1987: 58–61.

576 e.g. Clayden 2014.

577 Balkan 1986.

homelands for most of the ethnonyms is as easy as looking at the a name itself. Of the eleven ethno-national groups described, eight of them have at least one specific location associated with them: Akkad/Babylon and Assyria (I.10), Amurru (I.11), Elam and Hanigalbat (I.12), Arrapḫa (I.13), Aruna (I.14), and Ullipi (I.16), present no problems. However, Aḫlamean (I.9), Lullubian (I.12), and Kassite (I.15) are not associated with recognizable geographic names and require further explanation.

Although no "Lullubia" or "Kassitia" is known, both names are associated with geographic locations.

A Lullubian land is attested:

> **V.1 (Nebuchadnezzar in Elam, 1–14):** When Nebuchadnezzar, pious and preeminent prince, of Babylonian birth, aristocrat of kings, valiant governor and viceroy of Babylon, sun-god of his land, who makes his people flourish, guardian of boundaries, establisher of measuring lines[?], righteous king who renders a just verdict, valiant male whose arms are poised for warfare, who wields a terrible bow, who fears no battle, who felled the mighty Lullubian land with weaponry, conquer of the Amorites, plunderer of the Kassites, preeminent among kings, prince beloved of Marduk, was sent forth by Marduk, king of the gods, he raised his weapon to avenge Akkad. (Muses III.12c)

This passage is the introductory section of the same text quoted as *II.3. The key marker is the description of the Lullubians as possessing a specific land in the phrase, "mighty Lullubian land." The text gives no indication where this land was located, but the fact that it appears in a text is sufficient evidence for the concept of a Lullubian (home)land to be attested. It was probably located somewhere in the Zagros mountains east of Babylonia. The passage is notable for containing several other themes discussed in the present chapter, including ethnonyms (Amorites, Kassites) as archetypical enemies, a claim of Babylonian nativeness, and the invocation of a place (Akkad) as representing a people (the Akkadians, i.e. the Babylonians

in this period).

A Kassite land is attested:

> **V.2 (Contract recording the purchase of a young girl):** (Purchased) a little girl, a native of the Kassite land.[578]

Documents like this record the sale of a young child and usually include a description of the child's sex, age, size, country of origin, and the names of parents.[579] References to a "Kassite land" like this are unusual in the Middle Babylonian period but were not rare in the early second millennium BCE.[580] In earlier periods, the "Kassite land" was probably located in or around the Diyala region, but there is no way to investigate its location with the available evidence from the Middle Babylonian period.

Finally, the Aḫlamean homeland is unique among the ethnonyms on the list without a single Middle Babylonian reference to a homeland. This is a contributing factor to the characterization of the Aḫlameans as an "ethnic group" (*Volksgruppe*) rather than as an ethno-national group.[581]

Sources VI: Ethnic solidarities

Descriptions of ethnic solidarities are the most difficult of the six ethno-symbolic marker

578 BagM 13 57 1: vs. 1.

579 Tenney 2011: 32–33.

580 De Smet 1990: 2.

581 Nashef 1982: 6; see Szuchman 2007 for a summary and bibliography.

types to locate in ancient documents, even under ideal circumstances with robust literary collections, and the Middle Babylonian corpus is far from ideal because of the state of its publication and availability of evidence. Nonetheless, evidence of cultural solidarities are visible in the existing materials. The following two examples are few but strong evidence of cultural solidarity in Middle Babylonian texts.

Ethno-nationalism becomes plainly visible late in the period:

> **VI.1 (Kudur-Nahhunte and the Babylonians, 10–22):** "Shall livestock and ravening wolf come to terms? Shall firm-rooted thorn and soaring raven love one another? Shall raven and venomous snake come to terms? [ ] Shall bone-gnawing dog come to terms with mongoose? Shall dragon come to terms with blood-letting bandit? What king of Elam is there who provided for Esagila (the shrine of Marduk) and ...?"
>
> The Babylonians... and [ ] their message: "(As for) [the wo]rds that you wrote: 'I am a king, son of a king, of [royal seed e]ternal, [indeed] the son of a king's daughter who sat upon the royal throne. [As for] Durmah-DINGIR.ME[?], son of Arad-Etusha, who [carried off] plunder of [ ], he sat on the royal throne ... [ ]. [As for] us, let a king come whose [lineage is] fi[rmly founded] from ancient days. He should be called lord of Babylon...

The text continues the correspondence between the Babylonians and the Elamites described in I.4. In the first section here, the Elamite king acknowledges the state of enmity between natural enemies as analogies for Babylonia and Elam, but proceeds to describe in the second section how a king who recently plundered Babylonia had been allowed to sit on the royal throne. He continues by noting that unlike that other plunderer, the Elamite king has a legitimate claim to the Babylonian throne through his material heritage; clearly he deserves to become king of Babylon. Yet, the Babylonians reject his claim. They state that only a king "whose lineage is firmly founded (in Babylonia) from ancient days" would be called the lord

(king) of Babylon. This reasoning is an unmistakable expression of ethno-nationalism.[582]

A similar ethno-nationalism can be seen operating in other texts relating to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, such as I.1, *II.2, and V.1, above.

The following text illustrates the straining of cultural bonds:

> **VI.2 (A Babylonian Scholar in Assur):** I, Marduk-nadin-ahhe, royal scribe, son of Marduk-uballit, son of Usshur-ana-Marduk, blessed by god and king, the humble, the obedient, the one who pleases his lord, by the exalted wisdom of Marduk, my lord, in grand style I made a *laḫmu*-figure, his servant spirit, occupy the house which I had erected in the shadow of the temple of Marduk, and within which I had opened a well of cold water. The baked-brick rooms beneath it, about which no one knows, I had made with wise understanding and the greatest care; (and) I constructed and completed the entire house, its reception suites[?] and residential quarters. I will not allow [mor]ons to take possession (of it).
>
> May Marduk, my lord, inspect that house, and grant (it) to me for my troubles. May he allow (it) to endure in the future for my sons, my grandsons, my offspring, and the offspring of my offspring, so that we, [I] and my family, can [reve]re Marduk, my lord, and Sarpanitu, my lady, [fore]ver, and maybe, by the command of Marduk, [some]one can set [stra]ight [the kinsmen (*qinnu*)] and clans (*bīti*) of my ancestors that have embraced [tre]achery. May [Marduk], my lord, grant to Assur-uballit, who [lo]ves me, king of the universe, my lord, long days with abundant prosperity.[583]

This fascinating document is a library copy of an inscription originally on some sort of commemorative monument, and the tablet itself is said to be from Assur, the capital of Assyria.[584] Marduk-nadin-ahhe can confidently be identified, as a Babylonian man, on the basis

582 It also suggests that the text is not an accurate copy of an Elamite letter since these lines, and the ones that follow the quoted passage, all anticipate the royal rhetoric of Nebuchadnezzar I. Despite the fact that the document was found on a tablet dating to the Persian period (see source I.1), it seems reasonable to associate the origin of this legendary inscription to the Isin II dynasty (or soon afterward) on the basis of this rhetorical feature. Babylonia had an established tradition of writing legendary inscriptions about historical kings (e.g. I.2).

583 Wiggerman 2008: 219–20.

584 Wiggerman 2008: 212, 220.

of his name,[585] and because a set of texts and artifacts can be associated with his family with a scribal house in Babylon.[586] However the text makes clear that he became a "royal scribe" at the court of the king of Assyria, not Babylonia, most likely because of the succession crisis that occurred during the 14th century that prompted the Assyrian king to march on Babylon and install Kurigalzu II (1332–1308) on the Babylonian throne.[587] As a Babylonian scribe employed by the Assyrian court following a succession crisis that saw an Assyrian intervention in Babylonian politics, Marduk-nadin-ahhe's actions could very well be considered treasonous by some Babylonians, even members of his own influential family, and he acknowledges this fact when he describes his family (back home) as people that "embraced treachery." By accusing them of being treacherous, he acknowledged and inverted the blame for his defection/relocation.

The text is a clear illustration of the tension that can arise between culture (family) and politics (career). We learn from the text that he has been set up in a temple of Marduk (in Assur!). Royal scribes primarily functioned in the Assyrian court as educators,[588] but it would seem that Marduk-nadin-ahhe was disappointed in the "morons" he was training, raising the real concern that his new house might be claimed by his extended family in Babylon instead of his immediate sons and heirs in Assur. More importantly, this concerned him because his family was being "treacherously" dismissive of the Assyrian king, presumably by supporting Babylonian interests instead of the Assyrian one. What concerned Marduk-nadin-ahhe was his family's loyalty to their Babylonian culture instead of Assyria's authority and his professional

585 Marduk is the national god of Babylonia.

586 Wiggerman 2008: 203–7.

587 Wiggerman 2008: 206–7; Brinkman 1976: 166–8.

588 Wiggerman 2008: 209–10.

position, a compelling example of cultural solidarity.[589]

Discussion

The preceding survey provides a thorough overview of the markers of alterity and social difference appearing in Middle Babylonian texts. We see that the markers are relatively robust, where they appear, but that only four of the six ethno-symbolic markers of ethnic identity can be demonstrated. The results of the survey showed the following:

Ethnonyms (I) are numerous and accessible in the corpus. The standard literary people group is an enemy of Babylonia (I.1). People groups could also appear in narratives about the distant past (I.2). The identity of "Babylonians" is not entirely clear but seems connected to both "Akkadians" and "Kassites" in this period. (I.3). Gentilic names are usually nouns (I.4), but adjectives could also appear (I.5). Interestingly, the dimensions of social organization found in mythological texts describe humankind as known by many names (I.6), composed of numerous peoples (I.8) that are scattered and numerous (I.7).

Eleven key ethno-national names can be identified in a combination of both literary and administrative sources, including: Aḫlameans (I.9), Akkadian/Babylonians (I.10), Amorites (I.11), Arrapḫaeans (I.13), Arunaeans (I.14), Assyrians (I.10), Elamites (I.12), Hanigalbateans (I.12), Kassites (I.15–6), Lullubians (I.12), and Ullipians (I.17).

Unfortunately, no ethnic ancestors (II) could be found. While ancestors of individuals do

589 While it remains possible that this conflict could have had something to do with Marduk-nadin-ahhe personally, or that the conflict was simply political, the extensive lengths that he goes through in the text to stress his cultural and religious loyalty despite his job seems telling. He is "humble" (*ašru*), "obedient" (*na'du*), "blessed by (Babylonian) god and (Assyrian) king" (*kiribti ili u šarri*), and prays that his god and goddess (the national deities of Babylonia) will reconcile his immediate family (in Assyria) with his extended family (*qinnu*) and clan (*bītū*) (in Babylonia) someday.

appear in the corpus (*II.1–3), they are only symbolically connected to individuals and never groups. This is the first time in our study that we were unable to find a corresponding marker type. Similarly, no history of any named, specific group can be found in the corpus, and where nationalistic expressions appear, they are also tied only to the heroism of individuals (*III.1) and never groups. The absence of these two marker types is significant and will be discussed below.

Cultural markers of difference (IV) were relatively abundant in the corpus, and several were identified including: language (IV.1), religion (IV.2), names (IV.3), and festivals and holidays (IV.4). Although these are limited in scope and diversity compared to the previous studies, they are sufficient to demonstrate the existence of the category of cultural elements.

Homelands (V) of named people groups are easy to find in the corpus. Ethnonyms contain the name of the geographic territory associated with the people, and all of the ethno-national groups mentioned above (I.9–17) can be found easily with three exceptions. The land of the Lullubians (V.1), and the land of the Kassites (V.2) are referenced but cannot be precisely located, but the concept of such a place is clearly visible. Only the Aḫlameans are unique in the corpus for not having references to any places or homeland. This absence may suggest that their identity was tied to a symbol other than geography, such as lifestyle.

Expressions of cultural solidarity (VI) do appear in Middle Babylonian texts. Cultural solidarity is visible in the ethno-nationalism expressed late in the period (VI.1), especially in the texts connected to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I. In addition, a monumental inscription by a Babylonian scribe who relocated to the court of Assyria reveals the tensions that could arise between culture and politics (VI.2).

Several observations can be made reviewing these results. First, place identities drastically outnumber kinship identities in the corpus. With the exception of the Aḫlameans, which still had a vaguely geographic association as "western nomads," all of the ethnonyms are symbolically connected to a region or even specific geographic locations instead of other types of signified identity. Kinship identities were certainly not unimportant, especially at the level of the individual, but the social matrix appears to be primarily based on markers of geographic symbolism. The primacy of geographic social identities over other identity types in the period seems clear.

Second, two forms of bias regarding the judgment of social groups appear visible in the corpus. One is a "civilizational prejudice," which is the judgment of foreign people as uncivilized and therefore inferior. Civilizational prejudice in the Middle Babylonian corpus is based on older Sumero-Akkadian forms was a traditional part of Babylonian custom. The use of anachronistic names such as Gutium and Lullubian are examples. Another bias that appears is the explicit elevation and celebration of individuals on the basis of nativeness. This bias was new in Babylonian history and gains increasing importance over the course of the period.

Third, the absence of two marker types (*II and *III) is significant because this is the only time it occurs in the present study. Although some of the other marker types were not as easily demonstrated as in the other case studies, the quoted examples contained sufficiently robust content that an ethnic marker of each type could be identified. This was not possible for types II and III, and the quoted passages that were selected are the closest available in the corpus.

The two missing marker types are interesting because they both share a concern for the past. Type II concerns a historical or founding myth of ancestors for a specific, named group. Type III concerns a historical narrative that explains how said group has become recognizable to people—it essentially connects the past with the present. Both of these types are missing from the Middle Babylonian corpus. Stories about the past can be found in the materials, but they are constrained to the events of heroic individuals. A social consciousness of the historical past of specific groups is not visible in the corpus. This suggests that social identity was constrained to perceptions of difference in the present only, a conclusion that could have significant consequences for identity research of the ancient past.

Conclusion

The Middle Babylonian concepts of social difference were focused on membership in broad ethno-national identities associated with geographic regions or local identities associated with specific city-states. Despite the "civilizational prejudice" regarding the inferiority of foreigners in traditional expressions of Babylonian royal rhetoric, humanity was largely described as being one species divided into numerous, scattered, peoples called by many different names. While there can be no mistaking the perception of alterity and social difference between peoples in the texts, it does not appear that the difference was understood to be fully ethnic, and only four of the six ethno-symbolic markers can be demonstrated in the corpus. Significantly, the two marker types missing from the corpus both concern historical narratives about the people groups in the past. Stories about the past existed, but they were constrained to events of heroic individuals. Consequently, it seems reasonable to conclude that the concept of ethnicity had not yet formed in the Middle Babylonian Period, and the people

groups named above were not perceived as or understood to be ethnic groups (ethnies).

In the next chapter we synthesize the results of all three case studies and discuss the ramifications of there not being ethnies in the Middle Babylonian material.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

Introduction

The present study is the first attempt to collect and organize the markers of alterity and social difference in texts from multiple ancient cultures of the Eastern Mediterranean, in order to analyze their similarities with and differences from each other, and to juxtapose a modern anthropological definition of ethnicity. The project sought to investigate the linguistic basis for (or lack thereof) for the claim that ancient social categories are analogous or similar to modern ethnic groups. Its primary goal was to provide a linguistic and comparative foundation for the accurate translation of ancient identity concepts into modern English because, as we have seen, the uncritical use of social categories like ethnicity or race can distort perceptions of the societies of the past and undermine social studies of the present. The study specified a critical and anthropological definition of the modern concept of ethnicity which could be used to organize and analyze ancient markers of alterity and social difference. It then featured three case studies surveying such markers in Ancient Greek, Biblical Hebrew, and Middle Babylonian texts, and evaluated the results in each context. The present chapter integrates the results of the three case studies, analyzes the markers of social difference comparatively in some detail, and offers conclusions concerning historical conceptions of ethnicity.

The current chapter begins with a summary review of the results and particulars of each study, in order to identify common themes and highlight culturally specific issues. The results of each case study are then synthesized, and an integrated discussion indicates when and how it is accurate to describe ancient identities as "ethnic groups." The chapter concludes with an

outline of the historical development of the ancient perceptions of difference, and a discussion of some possibilities for future research.

Chapter one concerned the historical, theoretical, critical, and methodological issues surrounding the concepts that have been called ethnicity in the past and in recent scholarship. Early in the chapter, we surveyed various concepts indicated or referred to by the term "ethnicity," and discussed the ways in which these ambiguities have caused confusion in different types of historical research in recent decades. Chief among those ways is an academic process in which simple proper names for groups of people can be transformed into full, ethnic communities through a series of translations and adaptations across several disciplines, even when there is no evidence beyond the name itself. Several key theoretical issues were also discussed. The term "ethnie" was introduced in order to focus on the conceptual root of the idea of the ethnic group, rather than the myriad secondary appearances and associations that the broader term "ethnicity" can involve. We later defined the ethnie, for our purposes, according to the ethno-symbolic definition of an ethnic community.

Several analytical definitions were provided for the concepts that would be used in the study. We distilled the varieties of the ethnie by outlining Handelman's typology of ethnic incorporation and identified four, increasingly salient and political, types of ethnic groups as: the ethnic category, which is simply a perception of cultural difference between a group and outsiders; the ethnic network, in which some regular interaction between members distributes resources; the ethnic association, where members develop common interests and political organizations; and the ethnic community, which possesses a permanent, physically bounded territory that can symbolically supersede political organizations. We defined ethnic markers as

signs signaling an identification with at least one incorporation level of the ethnie, and contrasted two types: ethnic identifications, which are (emic) expressions explicitly referring to the self and claiming membership with a particular group; and ethnic ascriptions, which are (etic) expressions assigning membership in a group to a non-self individual or group. With few exceptions, the ethnic markers analyzed in the present project were ethnic ascriptions.

The chapter summarized a variety of theoretical and academic approaches to the concept of ethnicity in order to explain the adoption of the historical comparative approach using the ethno-symbolic theory of social difference in the present study. The survey showed that the ethnie is different from the concept of race, shares elements with the concept of alterity but is more specific, and cautions against the uncritical use of everything scholars have identified as "ethnic." We also identified similarities and differences between the current project and archaeological, philological, and genetic approaches to ethnicity research. We divided the theoretical approaches to ethnicity into two intellectual camps: primordialism, which focuses on the psychological and historical power of ethnic symbols; and instrumentalism, which considers ethnic symbols as cultural resources utilized by different interest groups. Finally, we introduced the ethno-symbolic approach as the theoretical approach for the current project and described it as a moderate position incorporating elements of both primordialism and instrumentalism. Ethno-symbolism defines the ethnie as possessing six marker types: ethnonyms, ancestor myths, shared histories, shared cultural elements, homelands, and solidarities. These marker types are redefined and discussed in the synthesis section below.

Chapter two dealt with the concept of ethnicity and the terms for social difference in Ancient Greek texts (c. 800–323 BCE) as the first case study. The chapter primarily surveyed

the terms for alterity and the labeling of cultural difference, and evaluated the dimensions of social identity represented in the corpus using an ethno-symbolic model of group identity. Expressions of difference containing identity markers were presented in quoted passages, discussed individually, and then analyzed in synthesis at the end. The chapter also traced the etymology of the English term "ethnic" to the Ancient Greek term "ethnos," but showed that the two terms indicated different ideas and were used differently in their respective cultures. We also discussed a historical summary of Ancient Greece, defined the Classical Period from which most of our texts came, and introduced the concept of the Bronze Age Collapse. The chapter described the key terms for social difference in Ancient Greek, including terms for human collectives and organizations; although none of the terms was a precise synonym for the ethnie or ethnic group, the outline of several kinship identities and place identities showed the range of semantic possibilities for the description of social difference. After the lengthy survey of quoted passages and discussion, the chapter concluded that all six types of ethnic marker were abundantly visible in the corpus, and that it seems reasonable to infer that the concept of the ethnie was present in the Ancient Greek corpus.

Chapter three was the second case study. It examined the concept of ethnicity and the terms for social difference in the Hebrew Bible (c. 1000 – 200 BCE). As with the previous chapter, the primary focus was on surveying the terms for alterity and the labeling of cultural difference in an ancient language, and on the organization and evaluation used an ethno-symbolic model of group identity. These terms were also presented in quoted passages, discussed individually, and then analyzed in synthesis at the end. We also discussed in some detail the deliberate formation of the Hebrew Bible, the editorial process involved, and how

this makes the Hebrew texts both similar and different from the Greek corpus. The chapter introduced two categorical identities in order to preserve the ambiguities of identification for many of the social markers appearing in the corpus, defining "ethno-national" as a collective identity primarily linked to a particular territory, and "ethno-religious" as a collective identity primarily linked to a particular cult or deity. A brief historical sketch was provided, and we surveyed the prevalent identities in the same fashion as in the Greek chapter. The density and frequency of terminology for social difference in the biblical corpus is strikingly similar to the Greek corpus, an observation that will be analyzed in detail below, and once again no synonym for the ethnie was found in the corpus. We proceeded with another survey of quoted passages and discussion, and the chapter concluded that since all six types of ethnic marker were visible in the corpus so it seems reasonable to infer that the concept of the ethnie was also present in the Hebrew Bible.

Chapter four dealt with the concept of ethnicity and the terms for social difference in Middle Babylonian and related texts from the late second millennium BCE Near East. It was the third and final case study surveying the terms for alterity and labeling of cultural difference and evaluating the dimensions of social identity represented in the corpus using an ethno-symbolic model of group identity. The focus, once again, was on a selection of quoted passages, discussed individually, and then analyzed in synthesis at the end. We examined the key studies of social identity in Ancient Near Eastern Studies in order to show that the incorporation of such evidence is possible and to explain why such evidence has rarely been included in previous critical studies of identity. Another historical sketch was provided, and the Bronze Age Collapse was discussed in further detail. We then surveyed the prevalent

identities in the Akkadian language of the period. This survey included more terms than the previous case studies, due both to the significant differences in the concepts involved and a general lack of published studies on the subject. After the survey of quoted passages and discussion, the chapter concluded that only four of the six types of ethnic marker could be demonstrated in the corpus, leaving us to infer that the concept of the ethnie was not present in the Middle Babylonian texts.

The results of all three case studies are synthesized in the next section, in which we prepare to suggest when and how it is accurate to describe ancient identities as "ethnic groups."

Synthesis

As the preceding review showed, the boundaries of social difference can be mapped using the theory of ethno-symbolism. The results of each case study are available in the corresponding chapter, where the contours of the imagination of difference are traced individually and then analyzed as a whole. The six marker types of ethno-symbolism also provide an effective means of investigating comparatively the boundaries of identity and difference in historical texts. The following synthesis brings the results of the case studies together, and uses a comparative approach to highlight the patterns of appearance and to analyze the appearance and function of the symbols in the markers. The purpose of the following survey is:

1. To arrange the case study results into a parallel scheme in order to facilitate cross-cultural comparison. This is a necessary first step in any comparative project, and in our study it highlights the operation of particular marker types in their original contexts. This presentation allows for closer scrutiny of the dimensions of the marker

types and provides clearer definition to the similarities and differences between the cultures. In particular, such presentation will provide larger context for the analysis of the missing marker types in the Babylonian case study.

2. To create a typology of marker sub-types that assists the reading of the markers in the present study and provides clearer guidelines for the investigation of additional textual corpuses in future research. The organization of the results into a parallel scheme requires a close reading of the function of the marker in the original context, and the parallels that are observed can be classified into useful sub-types. The attestation or absence of particular sub-types provides new, useful information on the similarities and differences between cultures.

3. To provide a basis for the articulation of specifically ethnic markers in early antiquity. While much of our discussion has focused on the observation and classification of perceptions of difference among collectives of people in general, this structure allows us to evaluate the markers as symbols of the ethnie specifically. Such observations make it possible to infer how the ancient concept of difference was similar to, or different from, the modern concept of ethnicity.

The following survey is organized by marker type. Each marker type is defined and clarified in light of our observations in the present study, and the results of each case study are consulted as necessary. Some general observations about frequency are included that are based on the whole textual corpus, not just the passages that were selected for quotation. These observations are not scientific; they are meant to be suggestive rather than quantitative. Interested readers are encouraged to consult the references and bibliography surrounding the

quotations in each chapter for additional examples, and to use the following typology as a guideline for the investigation.

The citations in parentheses are representative examples in which a reader can see the marker type or sub-type in use. The format for the citation refers to the case study number (not chapter number), followed by the marker type in Roman numeral, and the quoted example excerpt number. For example, (1.III.2) refers to the Greek study, third marker type (histories), second excerpt (beginning of Herodotus 1.1.1–4), and (3.VI.2) refers to the Babylonian study, sixth marker type (solidarity), second excerpt (a Babylonian scribe in Assur).

Marker Type I: Ethnonyms

Ethnonyms are proper names for collectives of people sharing a common identity. Throughout the study, we observed a very high frequency of ethnonyms in a multitude of forms, contexts, and usages. The ubiquity of ethnonyms in all three corpuses, as well as others throughout history, gives the impression that the concept of ethnicity is universal to all times and places; but as we discussed in chapter one, this assumption blurs the distinctions among various forms of social difference. The present study has attempted to show a rich diversity of social differences represented by proper names that included ethnies, but it was not limited to just one category. Nonetheless, the proper name for collectives of people, the ethnonym, forms the key foundation for the identification of specific groups. It is the sure sign of a collective of people.[590]

The ethnonyms examined in the present study could possess any of four associative qualities depending on the form and context of the appearance. These qualities include a) the

590 Smith 1986: 23.

form of the name; b) a geographic association; c) a grammatical form; and d) a position in a social hierarchy.

a) Onomastic form

The form of a name, i.e. the onomastic form, always provides at least one association for the labeled identity. This association can be a link to geography, genealogy, both geography and genealogy, or a more obscure referent.

The gentilic form identifies those names derived from a geographic location, such as "Boeotian," "Babylonian," or "Elamite," and can be known by other names in specialized disciplines, such as the *nisba* form, the place-name, or the demonym. In the texts we examined, the exclusively gentilic form of the ethnonym was uncommon in the Ancient Greek corpus (e.g. 1.I.1), it was rare in the Biblical Hebrew corpus (2.I.3), but it was the only form for ethnonyms in the Middle Babylonian corpus (3.I.1).

The genealogical form characterizes those ethnonyms derived from the name of a presumed ancestor, such as "Heracleidai," or "Judeans," and the form can be known by other names in some disciplines such as descendant-names or ancestor-names. In the present study, the exclusively genealogical form of the ethnonym was uncommon in the first corpus (1.I.1), it was rare in the second corpus (2.I.2), and it did not exist in the third.[591]

In the texts from the first millennium BCE, ethnonyms were primarily expressed in a form combining the function of both gentilic and genealogical forms. Examples include "Hellenes," "Ionians," "Israelites," and "Arameans" among others (cf. 1.I.1 and 2.I.1). These terms

591 Genealogical names only appear for individuals in the Middle Babylonian corpus, never for groups. See marker type II below.

indicate associations with both a place and an ancestor simultaneously, and they were produced as a result of literary activities that described identities for particular purposes. Since such activity was common in the texts we considered from the first millennium BCE, it should be unsurprising that the evidence for this form appears only in the Greek and Hebrew corpuses. The combined gentilic-genealogical onomastic form is emblematic of the literary activity concerning identity in both the ancient Greek and Hebrew cultures.

While the vast majority of names fit into one of the three onomastic types just described, not every name-form was gentilic, genealogical, or both. Some names were foreign words borrowed into the language as loan words without a clear geographic referent, such as "Amazons" (1.I.4) in the Greek corpus or "Babylonians" (2.I.3) in the bible. Even rarer, in the Greek corpus some terms are descriptive ascriptions of a foreign population from an outsider perspective, such as the "Longheads" (1.I.5). In both cases, these miscellaneous onomastic forms represent isolated, typically peripheral entities, and each case can often be explained on the basis of historical or philological causes, but regardless of the specifics, these miscellaneous forms emphasis the exotic appearance of the groups being labeled.

b) Geographic association

The large majority of ethnonyms examined the present study demonstrate a direct and explicit link to a geographic location in addition to the association suggested by a gentilic onomastic form. These can appear as the homelands of named collectives (marker type V) or as the territory of an ethno-national group. Examples are very numerous, since nearly every ethnonym has one (1.I.9–16, 2.I.9–23, 3.I.9–17).

An interesting alternative to the ethnonym also exists. In several instances, a reference

to the land is employed metonymically to refer to the people of a particular place. In these instances, the ethnonym and the geographic name are being used interchangeably. This construction is common only in the Greek corpus (1.I.2), but it occurs in all three case studies (2.II.1, 3.I.3). It shows a very close relationship between the identity of a people and the land itself if a writer can actually use the name of the land as a place to refer to the population.

In general, the significance of a geographic association being contained in the name itself is suggestive of the prominent role geography played in the imagination of social difference in these languages. Ethnonyms were often linked to geography immediately through the gentilic name form, but even when genealogical or rarer foreign names were involved, the identities were usually linked explicitly to geography through a description or reference to a specific land; occasionally the land itself could function as a symbolic replacement for the population.

c) Grammatical form

The grammatical form of the ethnonym is its least productive dimension of the ethnonym, but it may be interesting to consider because of the way it could suggest patterns of usage in a particular culture. Overwhelmingly, ethnonyms appear in the three studies as nouns (1.I.3, 2.I.3, 3.I.4), but interestingly, only in the Greek corpus do adjectival forms appear frequently (1.I.3). Adjectives are much less common in the Middle Babylonian texts (3.I.5), and they are used only to describe women in the Hebrew Bible (2.I.4). These observations are interesting, but are they significant?

It is tempting to speculate that the sudden increase of adjectival usage in the Greek texts is somehow important—that collective identities somehow became attributive, indicating more than simple place of origin—but the evidence we have examined does not allow for such an

inference. The project did not map the appearance and usage of grammatical forms, and there is no way of knowing if these patterns are particular to the ethnonym, or are a consequence of the genre, language, or culture of the various works involved.

The general preference of the nominal over the adjectival form in the three case studies suggests the concept of identity referred to by the ethnonym was primarily imagined as a thing or an identity rather than an attribute or a characteristic in all three cultures, but we can say little else based on the grammatical form alone.

d) Social ordering

The fourth association of the ethnonym discussed in the three case studies is the various ways collective names could be arranged to create expressions of social ordering. Terms for identity and various ethnonyms could be combined to create arrangements indicating social hierarchies or other types of social associations, including kinship or affiliation. In the Greek and Hebrew corpuses, ethnonyms and terms for social identities were used to illustrate a variety of different social hierarchies and the arrangement of nested categories (1.I.6–8, 17-8, 2.I.5–8, 24), but no such descriptions appear anywhere in the Middle Babylonian corpus.

In the Middle Babylonian corpus, the primary description of the social order appears to be a generic description of a universal humankind that is divided into numerous, scattered peoples (3.I.6–8). Similar motifs appear in the texts of both Greece and Israel, specifically the stories of Deucalion and Prometheus,[592] and of the dual creations of mankind in Genesis,[593] but in those corpuses the motifs appear only in mythological texts describing the distant past. In

592 RECW 2.1 and 2.12–3.

593 Gen 1:26–7 and Gen 2: 7.

the texts of the first millennium, the social ordering emphasizes difference and specificity—as opposed to the universalizing tendencies found earlier, in late second millennium texts.

Association	**Ancient Greek**	**Biblical Hebrew**	**Middle Babylonian**
a) Onomastic form			
Gentilic (place-name) only	uncommon (1.I.1)	rare (2.I.3)	always (3.I.1)
Genealogical (descendant-name) only	uncommon (1.I.1)	rare (2.I.2)	nil
Gentilic-genealogical combined	primary (1.I.1)	primary (2.I.1)	nil
Miscellaneous forms (foreign or description names)	rare (1.I.5–6)	rare (2.I.3)	nil
b) Linked to geographic location			
Explicitly	primary (1.I.9–16)	primary (2.I.9–23)	primary (3.I.9–17)
Implicitly (metonymy)	common (1.I.2)	rare (2.II.1)	rare (3.I.3)
c) Grammatical form			
Noun form	common (1.I.3)	primary (2.I.3)	primary (3.I.4)
Adjective form	common (1.I.3)	rare: only with women (2.I.4)	uncommon (3.I.5)
d) Social ordering			
Social hierarchy and nested categories	common (1.I.6–8), (1.I.17–8)	common (2.I.5–8), (2.I.24)	nil
Universal humankind divided into scattered peoples	rare	rare	common (3.I.6–8)

Table 1: Typology of ethnonyms by association

Marker Type II: Ancestor Myths

Ancestor myths are stories describing the sense of common descent that serves as a

symbol uniting members of a particular social collective. As a marker, the ancestor myth focuses on connecting a population to a specific individual through a story of common descent. It is irrelevant whether the individual was real or fictive, and in the vast majority of cases we will never know which; but the significance of the ancestor is in his (or rarely her) role as a symbol. The ethnic ancestor myth is "a charter of community which explains its origins, growth, and destiny."[594] Thus the basic function of the ancestor myth is etiological: it provides some kind of explanation for where and why a particular group is the way it is.

In the Greek corpus, ancestor myths were a common motif, and most of the major ethnonyms could be associated with an ancestor myth, including the larger ethno-national identities as well as the smaller sub-categorical ones (1.II.2–3). Ancestor myths were a crucially important motif in many works of the Hebrew Bible and functioned in some ways as the framing device for several of the narratives. Their role is best demonstrated by the famous Table of Nations (2.II.1). In contrast to the first and second corpuses, no ancestor myths for collectives of people could be found in the Middle Babylonian corpus. Narratives both about the past and about groups of people were common among the literary materials of the period, but the motif of ancestors only appears in relation to specific, elite individuals. No Middle Babylonian ethnic ancestor myths were found.

Although the majority of the ancestor myths encountered in the present study were simply etiological, some examples demonstrated interesting variations. The expressions in these variations mobilized the motif of the ancestor myth for a particular function, or questioned its validity. An example of the use of an ancestor myth for a political purpose was observed in the Greek texts (1.II.2); and the bible employs ancestor myths, in part, to assign the

594 Smith 1986: 24.

Israelites a special role as the mediators of Yahweh (2.II.2). These secondary uses of the myths are an extension of the basic, etiological use. Otherwise, surprisingly few contradictions or criticism of the authenticity of ancestor stories were found in the present study, and then only in the Greek corpus (1.II.4). Of course this does not mean that the cultures themselves were not skeptical or critical of the traditions, but rather it simply shows that the writers did not explicitly record counter- or alternate-narratives in the periods concerned.

Ancestor myths	**Ancient Greek**	**Biblical Hebrew**	**Middle Babylonian**
Etiological	common (1.II.2–3)	common (2.II.1)	nil: individuals only
—political use	geo-politics (1.II.1)	"mediators of Yahweh" (2.II.2)	
—skepticism	criticism (1.II.4)	nil	

Table 2: Typology of ancestor myths

Marker Type III: Collective (ethnic) histories

The third marker type is histories of collectives of people. These were defined as the perception of a common tradition rooted in time, as a series of events that unite successive generations, each with its own set of common experiences that are added to the common stock. In many ways, markers of this type elaborate on the symbols of the second type (ancestor myths) by joining the abstract symbolism of the distant past with the specific symbolism of the recent past and present.

We distinguished two kinds of collective histories in the case studies that we examined. The first type is collective history written from an insider's perspective as a member of the identity being described. Markers of this type can be considered histories of the (constitutive) self since every expression that is by the self and about the self constructs or maintains and

image of the self. The second type of collective history considered in our study is the history written from an outsider's perspective by a non-member of the identity described. Markers of this type can be considered histories of the non-self, which marks the distinctive position of the viewer relative to the object. A collective history of a non-self may be a history of the (constitutive) Other as well, but the demonstration of the alterity requires an exploration of the power dynamics surrounding a particular text, which is generally beyond the scope of the present project.[595]

In the cultures under review in the present project, histories of the collective self were found in the Greek (1.III.1) and Hebrew (2.III.1–3) corpuses but not in the Middle Babylonian corpus. The basis and substance of many of the works examined in each culture could be connected, either directly or indirectly, to the historical project of describing the community of the self, and we have also seen biblical scholars express the view that this was a primary motivation behind much of the biblical project. Importantly, collective histories of the self constitute one of the few markers that we can confidently consider social (ethnic) identifications rather than social (ethnic) ascriptions. It is a pity that we have so few histories of non-self groups in early antiquity with which to contrast varying and diverse accounts, because they could have been an invaluable source for social identity research.

The other type of collective history is histories of non-self groups. These were much less common in our study and appeared only in the Greek corpus (1.III.2). For the purposes of our study, we do not distinguish between directly quoted perspectives of non-self history (1.III.2) and general descriptions of the history of non-self groups (1.I.9). Additionally, the absence of

595 A prospect for a project concerning the concept of alterity and the prevalent identities in the case studies is mentioned below in the Future Prospects.

histories of non-self groups in the Hebrew corpus is remarkable when one considers the general volume of historical material in the collection. Except for brief historical asides (2.V.2), the focus of the biblical narrative is exclusively on the Israelite peoples.

As with the second marker type (II), ethnic markers of the third marker type (III) were only visible in the Ancient Greek and Biblical Hebrew corpuses. No Middle Babylonian ethnic histories were found.

Histories of collective	Ancient Greek	Biblical Hebrew	Middle Babylonian
Self	common (1.III.1)	common (2.III.1–3)	nil: individuals only
Non-self	common (1.III.2), (1.I.9)	none explicitly	nil

Table 3: Typology of collective (ethnic) histories

Marker Type IV: Collective cultural elements

Descriptions of cultural features specific to particular groups are considered the fourth type of ethnic marker. These cultural elements can be described explicitly or implicitly with words or phrases, but they are all essentially distinctive. They are the most numerous type of ethnic marker in the study of ethnicity, both of past and present identities, and they are typically the most interesting details in a traditional description of a people. We observed several different types of cultural elements associated with various collectives of people, and markers of this type appeared abundantly in all three corpuses.

The survey of cultural elements in the present study was not quantitative or qualitative. The elements featured were intended as a sampling of the kinds of cultural elements that can appear as cultural markers of collective identity; thus not every element was pursued in every corpus. See the cited references and bibliography for published surveys on the features of

specific cultures. The selected elements featured in the present study included costume and dress (1.IV.1–2), (2.IV.4), festivals and holidays (1.IV.3–4), (2.IV.5–6), (3.IV.4), language (1.IV.5–7), (2.IV.7–9), (3.IV.1), cultural personal names (3.IV.3), native religion (1.IV.8), (2.IV.1), (*3.III.1), and foreign religion (1.VI.1), (2.IV.2–3), (3.IV.2).

Significantly, only the Greek corpus contains documents systematically describing the cultural features of particular groups in an ethnological or synthetic way. Even in that corpus, writing in such a style was an exclusive feature of Herodotus's texts. As a general pattern, the descriptions of cultural elements in our case studies were incidental or supplemental facts added to another expression, and the specific cultural elements or specific cultures themselves were not an object investigated or explicated by authors in the three case studies.

Cultural element types	**Ancient Greek**	**Biblical Hebrew**	**Middle Babylonian**
Costume and dress	attested (1.IV.1–2)	attested (2.IV.4)	not investigated[596]
Festivals and holidays	attested (1.IV.3–4)	attested (2.IV.5–6)	attested (3.IV.4)
Language	attested (1.IV.5–7)	attested (2.IV.7–9)	attested (3.IV.1)
Cultural personal names	not investigated	not investigated	attested (3.IV.3)
Native religion	attested (1.IV.8)	attested (2.IV.1)	attested (*3.III.1)
Foreign religion	attested (1.VI.1)	attested (2.IV.2–3)[597]	attested (3.IV.2)
Ethnology	attested (1.IV.8)	nil	nil

Table 4: Typology of collective (ethnic) cultural element types

Marker Type V: Homelands

The fifth type of collective (ethnic) marker we investigated is the symbol of homeland.

596 One instance was mentioned in passing. See the "Egyptian jewelry" mentioned in chapter four.

597 Biblical descriptions of non-Israelites are stereotypically negative.

An ethnie is always tied to a particular location or territory and expresses a powerful and permanent connection to it, whether the group in question actually reside there, possess it, or simply claim it. The symbolic power of the motif of homeland is more relevant and more influential than any physical experience of the place, and it becomes most visible in expressions describing a "feeling of connection" to a place. Unfortunately, colorful descriptions of the feeling of connection to a place are much rarer in the texts from early antiquity compared to those of later periods. Instead, we find in our ancient documents recurring links between a people and "their" place.

The majority of expressions in the present study linking people to specific lands connect the two automatically through implication, as if every land has a people and every people has a land (1.V.1, 2.II.1, 3.I.10–14). As the geographic and gentilic forms of names above illustrated (marker type I-a and I-b), there was a close connection between names, identities, and places in our texts, and the connection was strong enough that the names of peoples and lands could be substituted one for another (I-b) without diluting the meaning, but all of these associations were implicitly expressed. Implicit references to homelands are common in our study and occur frequently throughout each corpus.

Less frequently than implicit connections to homelands, some narrations explicitly describe the rightful ownership of a land and assign it to a specific people (1.I.1, 12, 2.V.1). Such expressions require a condition where more than one people occupies or claims ownership of a particular land; one example is the supposed Persian view that barbarians and Persians "belong in Asia" while Greeks are "separate" (1.I.12), and another is the Lord's giving of Canaan to the sons of Jacob/Israel "and their descendants after them" (2.V.1). A similarly important idea is the

notion that homelands and territories are different symbolic categories. A homeland is the symbolic land from which a people is said to have originated, while a territory is any land currently under the control of a particular people. Such lands may not necessarily be the same geographic region; in a couple instances, the idea is expressed that a people currently occupying a particular place once came from somewhere else (1.III.2, 2.V.2). Explicit references to homelands, and expressions distinguishing between homeland and territory, are relatively rare in the texts from early antiquity; and while instances of both are attested in the Greek and Hebrew corpuses, there were none among the Middle Babylonian texts.

Homeland reference	**Ancient Greek**	**Biblical Hebrew**	**Middle Babylonian**
Land connected to people	common	common	common
—implicitly	attested (1.V.1), (1.I.10, 14, 15)	attested (2.II.1), (2.I.1, 2, 9, 10, 12, 13, 20)	attested (3.I.10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16), (3.V.1–2)
—explicitly	attested (1.I.1, 1.I.12)	attested (2.V.1)	nil
—not territory	attested (1.III.2)	attested (2.V.2)	nil
(see also gentilic and geographic names, I-a and I-b, above)			

Marker Type VI: Solidarity

The final marker category in our study is the representation of political solidarity within a collective of people. Ethno-symbolic theory defines it as a definite sense of identity and solidarity that often finds philanthropic or political expression, but senses and feelings are very difficult to investigate or analyze in historical documents, especially from antiquity. An alternative definition for use with historical documents could be expressions of solidarity with a collective identity, such as ethnie, that overrides class, factional, or regional divisions, and is

observed in the explicit preference or commitment to the named collective over an eligible alternative. Thus an expression of solidarity always contains two groups, or collectives, of people, which are not necessarily the same categorical type, and indicates a preference for one over the other. We can consider the expression a marker of (ethnic) identity if the preferred (ethnic) group has other markers as well.

Unsurprisingly, markers of solidarity are the most difficult to locate of the marker types with ancient sources. As with cultural elements (IV) above, our identification of different expressions of solidarity is idiosyncratic and rather arbitrary since we are only interested in the presence or absence of specific marker types. Four bases of solidarity appear to motivate the expressions of solidarity found in the texts we investigated, but there is considerable overlap between these categories; and some markers could be assigned to multiple categories depending on how one defines the relevant keywords. The expressions of solidarity in the present study are based on ethnocentrism, politics, exclusivity, or kinship.

Ethnocentric expressions of solidarity are based on the evaluation of one culture over another. These expressions characterize one's own culture as superior to another; in expressions of solidarity, this bias is manifested as a preference for one's own culture, based on a presumption of superiority. It is a relatively unspecific form of solidarity, since it is based on a vague sense of superiority. In the texts of the present study, ethnocentric solidarities focused on ethno-national cultures, include the Persian rejection of Greek honor (1.I.12), and the Babylonian rejection of semi-legitimate Elamite as their king (3.VI.1).

Expressions of solidarity based on politics concern geopolitics and war. In these expressions, a cultural claim is cited as the reason for a strategic arrangement, such as the

Athenian claim that to work with the Persians would make them traitors to the Greeks (1.VI.1); or the case of the kings of Judah and of Israel joining together to make war on Moab, despite existing religious differences (2.VI.1).

Exclusivity could also be a basis for solidarity. Such expressions identify individuals who belong in a group and separate those individuals who do not belong. The result is a clear demarcation of a Barthian boundary of identity, and participating in such exclusion is an act of solidarity among the members of the group. The requirement that competitors in the Olympics be demonstrably Greek is one such example (1.VI.2), and the endogamous rules for marriage among Judeans is another (2.VI.5).

The fourth basis on which expressions of solidarity were founded was the invocation of the idea of kinship. Kinship-based expressions of solidarity contain appeals for support or preference on the basis of extended-family membership or invoke a word related to the idea of kinship. In the Greek corpus, we saw kinship as a basis for the organization of "tribal" confederations (1.VI.3–6), and in the bible we saw a case in which the king of Judah joined the king of Israel in war because of their common people (2.III.1). Explicit references to kinship are uncommon in the corpus of Middle Babylonian texts, but we discussed an interesting case in which the rejection of solidarity illustrated the same tensions in reverse. A Babylonian scribe from Nippur relocated to the court of the Assyrian king against the wishes of his powerful family, and in a monumental inscription he expressed concern that his family might seize his property despite his wish that his children inherit it— a fear that showed one possible consequence of his lack of solidarity with his kin (3.VI.2).

In the documents that we examined, a connection to kin could exert powerful influence

over individuals and groups. While identity markers of this type can be difficult to locate and analyze without much contextual information, cases were found in all three corpuses, and the presence of social solidarity is clear in all three cultures.

Solidarity based on	**Ancient Greek**	**Biblical Hebrew**	**Middle Babylonian**
Ethnocentrism (ethno-nationalism)	attested (1.I.12)	not investigated	attested (3.VI.1)
Politics	attested (1.VI.1)	attested (2.VI.1)	not investigated
Exclusivity	attested (1.VI.2)	attested (2.VI.2–5)	not investigated
Kinship	attested (1.VI.3–6)	attested (2.III.1)	special: divided loyalty (3.VI.2)

Table 5: Typology of collective solidarity bases

Conclusions and Clarifications

Observations

The survey of comparative identity markers is insightful and reveals several interesting features for our investigation of ancient social difference and ethnicity. The comparison of types and sub-types across cultures suggests many potential avenues of future identity research; some of these are mentioned in the Future Prospects section below. Our current focus remains on when and how is accurate to describe ancient identities as "ethnic groups," and in this regard three key features can be observed.

1) The complexity of social difference increases significantly over time.

An increase in complexity is visible over time in almost every category of marker as one moves from Middle Babylonian to Biblical Hebrew to Ancient Greek. Among the ethnonyms (I), the number and diversity of forms expands from always-gentilic onomastic forms to a

diversity and range of different name types. In addition, name associations that were rare or nonexistent become common by the period of Classical Greece. Similarly, both ancestor myths (II) and collective histories (III) increase in number and in the range of attested uses, and the descriptions of homelands (V) and solidarity (VI) become more elaborate as the amount of literature about the past increases over time. Of the six markers we examined, only the description of cultural elements (IV) remains frequent and numerous, but even there a formalized ethnology appears later, in the Greek context, that synthesizes descriptions of cultural elements in an elaborate, narrative way. A review of this survey leaves little doubt about the trend of increasing complexity over time.

A similar trend of increasing complexity is also visible internally within each particular culture. Although the present project does not focus significantly on diachronic or development issues, the trend is visible through a comparison of the portrayal of difference in Homer and Hesiod from the Classical Greek texts, or of the differences between early-, middle-, and late-texts in the Hebrew Bible. Even in the much smaller and relatively laconic Middle Babylonian corpus, there is a demonstrable increase in the importance and complexity of concepts of identity between the texts from the Kassite period and those of the Isin II period.

With the information in the present study, one can only speculate about the causes of this general trend. It is undoubtedly connected to a myriad of changes and forces in the ancient world, including the increase of literacy and literary technologies, the decentralization and re-centralization of state power after the Bronze Age Collapse, and the increase in global exchange and international economics, among others. These changes appear to have precipitated the historicization of identities; the increasing complexity could also be explained

as an increase in the historical content and density of the narratives surrounding identities. We see a shift from literal geographic identities in the Middle Babylonian corpus, to more complex forms based on a mixture of geography and narrative in the bible, and finally to the emergence of skepticism and genuine historiography that evaluates competing narratives in the Greek texts.

2) Identity markers in the Ancient Greek and Hebrew Bible texts are much more alike than the Middle Babylonian texts.

Many of the patterns concerning identity markers in the Hebrew Bible are similar to those found in the Ancient Greek texts, and vice-versa, but the patterns found in the Middle Babylonian texts are substantially different from the other two. Greek and Hebrew ethnonyms (I) are primarily gentilic-genealogical combined, while the Middle Babylonian names are gentilic only. Middle Babylonian texts lack the ancestor myths (II) and collective histories (III) that both Greek and Hebrew texts contain. Homelands (V) are described in similar, sometimes nuanced, ways in both Greek and Hebrew texts, while the Babylonian texts only implicitly connected homelands to people. In sum, the worldview portrayed in Middle Babylonian texts is significantly, but not completely, different from that of the Ancient Greek and Biblical Hebrew corpuses.

Naturally, part of this is due to the chronological distribution of the texts. Most of the Ancient Greek and Biblical Hebrew texts were written only as little as a few centuries apart, while the Middle Babylonian texts were written many centuries earlier than most of the ancient Greek or Hebrew texts. Does chronology sufficiently explain the similarity of the later cultures? Perhaps, but the most important differences between the second millennium BCE

and the first millennium BCE texts surround historical content. The identities appearing in second millennium texts nearly all involve a geographic element as a primary marker, while the identities in the first millennium texts typically combine geographic markers with a narrative compliment, such as a history of migration or a genealogical myth. This difference is a change, not only in complexity, but also in kind, and such a change seems unlikely to have resulted from purely evolutionary developments over time. In the final section below, I suggest that it was a social adaptation to the collapse of the social and political order of the age, in the event we called the Bronze Age Collapse, that earlier forms of identity and alterity were transformed into the historically contingent forms we recognize from the first millennium BCE and our own cultures today.

Finally, to return to the similarities between the Greek and Biblical corpuses, it should also be noted that these two societies were directly interacting with one another for a significant period of time before the end of the literary periods concerned. Both the degree of influence that Greek modes of historical thought had on the editing and preservation of the Hebrew Bible, and the degree of influence that Near Eastern modes of writing and scholarship had on the Greek Classical period, are contested subjects of debate in their respective fields. The question is not whether or not mutual influence occurred, but rather to what degree and in what manner. In this view, it is actually the differences, rather than the similarities, that become most interesting from a cultural-historical perspective.

3) The Middle Babylonian corpus entirely lacks two of the six ethno-symbolic markers of identity.

One of the surprising discoveries in the present project was the complete absence of two

types of ethno-symbolic markers of collective identity in the Middle Babylonian written documents. No identity markers for ancestor myths (II) or collective histories (III), at all, were found in the Middle Babylonian corpus. When investigated, the corpus was able to provide stories about ancestors (*3.II.1–3), but in every case, these were stories about the ancestry of individuals, not groups. Kassite clans, like Bit-Karziabku (*3.II.3), came temptingly close, but no narratives describe such stories in any meaningful way, and we lack other kinds of cultural ascriptions to signal membership in one of these "clans" as anything more than an administrative designation. At best, clan memberships could be considered an early prototype for later forms of collective identity, and even that notion would rely on scant Middle Babylonian evidence.

The same result occurred with the collective history marker type (III) in the Middle Babylonian study. An investigation into collective histories found a complete lack of narrative histories of groups known from the period. Narratives of historical events can be found in the corpus, but the narratives always focus on some individuals in the past, and in particular on the heroic qualities of that individual (*3.III.1). Social histories or the histories of groups of people were not a subject of interest in any known Middle Babylonian texts.

The absence of two marker types from the Middle Babylonian corpus is very significant and suggests a number of things. First, it is consistent with observations 1 and 2 above: the earliest texts in the study have the least complex patterns of identity and alterity, and the Middle Babylonian materials are considerably different from the Greek and Biblical texts. The worldview expressed in the second millennium texts is different, and the expressions of identity and alterity are based on a smaller set of markers of social difference.

Second, both of the missing marker types are associated with conceptions of and narrations about the past. This means that the differences we see would be observable in any theory of ethnicity that includes an historical component, even if an approach different from ethno-symbolism were to be used. Consequently, these differences should remain observable in even extremely instrumentalist theories of ethnicity, so long as the theory tolerates the investigation of identities in historical texts at all. The differences between second- and first-millennium expressions of identity are facts, regardless of the theory we use to investigate them.

Third, as previously mentioned, the differences between the second-millennium and first-millennium expressions of identity suggest that around the 10th century BCE something fundamental changed about how societies narrated collective identities. This matter is discussed below in Future Prospects.

Finally, with regard to the concept of ethnicity and the ethnie specifically, the lack of two marker types in the Middle Babylonian corpus make it nearly impossible for the concept of ethnicity to have been influencing the expressions evaluated in our study. There can be no doubt that social difference was perceived: the numerous ethnonyms and their activation as identity markers makes clear (3.I.1–17). Similarly, there can also be no doubt that identity- and alterity- boundaries are operating in the texts, as illustrated in the texts that show a prejudicial attitude toward foreigners (3.I.1, *3.II.2) or non-urban dwellers ("Gutium" 3.I.3), but none of these contrasts were particularly or explicitly ethnic in character. Where difference is visible in the Middle Babylonian corpus, it is generally conceived of as cultural, and as specifically represented by geographic symbolism alone. The concept of ethnicity was nonexistent, or at

least not significantly influential, in the texts from the Middle Babylonian period.

Conclusion

Putting these observations together with the results of the case studies, and the typology of marker types and subtypes, we can now answer the question of when and how to use the English term "ethnic group" when translating ancient documents from the Eastern Mediterranean. The following conclusions attempt to answer this question as precisely as possible, but the clarifying comments in the subsequent section that aim and constrain their reach should also be noted.

1. The collective identities of the Middle Babylonian period were not ethnic groups (ethnies).

A survey of the identity markers in the Middle Babylonian corpus identified four of the six markers, or dimensions, of the ethnie. A comparative analysis of the identity markers in historical documents suggested that this lack is remarkable, because two other textual corpuses from later antiquity in the Eastern Mediterranean were able to provide evidence of all six types of ethnic marker. This lack suggests that the concept of ethnicity was nonexistent in Babylonia during the late second millennium BCE, and that the collective identities of the Middle Babylonian period were not ethnies, or complex ethnic networks or communities.

2. The collective identities found in Ancient Greek and Biblical Hebrew texts could be, and often were, ethnic groups (ethnies).

A survey of the identity markers in both the Ancient Greek and Hebrew Biblical textual

corpuses provided evidence for all six types of ethnic marker, and this study suggests that it is reasonable to consider many of the collectives of people referred to by those texts as ethnies. Both cultures demonstrated the range of social articulations necessary for possessing a concept of the ethnie, and enough ethnic markers can be associated with particular groups to characterize their identities, at least in part, as specifically ethnic. Many of the named groups surveyed in either case study can be shown to have behaved like an ethnic network, ethnic association, or ethnic community according to a modern definition of the terms. The collective identities found in Ancient Greek and Biblical Hebrew texts could be, and often were, ethnies.

Not every ethnonym appearing in texts from the first millennium BCE in the Eastern Mediterranean referred to ethnies, however. An ethnonym, by itself, is only a marker of identity and a symbol of difference. An independent ethnonym refers only to an ethnic category. For any particular group, additional markers should be found in order to make the case that the ethnonym refers to a more complex type of ethnic group. The greater the number of ethnic markers referring to a particular group, the higher the level of ethnic incorporation (the more complex—the more ethnic) the collective was likely to have been. To accurately represent the social environment of any particular set of terms, each ethnonym should be investigated individually based on the context in which the terms appear.

Although many peripheral and isolated names may not have been represented as ethnies in the Ancient Greek and Biblical Hebrew documents, the majority of the ethnonyms surveyed in the present project, including the ethno-national groups and several of the social sub-categories, can be considered "ethnic groups," or more precisely "ethnies," if such a translation is useful.

3. Scholarly confusion between the concept of an "ethnic category" and the concept of an "ethnic community" is an ongoing problem.

A key problem in different historical studies of identity is the inconsistent use of the term "ethnic group" to denote both an "ethnic category" or an "ethnic community" in different works. This inconsistency becomes especially troublesome when interdisciplinary or critical studies rely on translations of source material with which they are unfamiliar or which they are unable to read, and it is this issue that lies at the heart of the academic process, discussed in chapter one, that can turn the appearance of simple proper names for groups of people into fully imagined, ethnic communities through a series of interdisciplinary translations.

An ethnic category is an expression of the perception of cultural difference. It is the simplest level of categorical identity, functioning as a synonym for the phrase "culturally distinct." Such a basic definition is useful when speaking of academic techniques and disciplines, as in the case of the "ethno-" prefix in ethnography or ethnolinguistics—which means simply "cultural," but becomes meaningless as a description for actual social groups. An ethnic category is the perception of a difference, not a description of the nature of that difference. There is nothing "ethnic" about an "ethnic category" in the sense of ethnicity, ethnic groups, or ethnies.

The confusion arises when researchers posit an ethnic consciousness as surrounding a basic ethnic category. Such an assumption over-generalizes at best; at worst, it imagines societies that never existed. In the present study, the populations of the Middle Babylonian period could not be described as ethnic communities, but they could be described as ethnic categories. Specific collectives of people possessed cultural distinctiveness attested by the

presence of ethnonyms (I) and cultural elements (IV), but there was nothing specifically ethnic about these differences. The present study suggests that there is no utility in describing them as ethnic groups unless it is made clear that the term is intended to mean simply a "culturally distinctive population." It would be easier to simply label them cultures.

4. When is the term "ethnic group" an accurate one to use? How should the term "ethnic group" be used?

The present study suggests that a named collective from the first millennium BCE or later could be an ethnic group in the modern sense of the term (an ethnie), but that such terminology is generally imprecise before 1000 BCE. Scholars using the terms ethnic group for collectives of people before 1000 BCE are describing the historical perception of cultural difference or basic alterity, or they are using the term as an analytical shorthand for which the term "culture" would be more precise.

The present study suggests that collectives of people after 1000 BCE can be called "ethnic groups," denoting ethnic communities or ethnies specifically, when several ethnic markers can be identified in a particular context. This is an act of translation that relies on an awareness of the social symbols as they function in a particular text, collection, or time period so it cannot be scientific. Collectives of people lacking a sufficient number of markers, about four or five, may still be considered an ethnie when a text is specifically contrasting or comparing the group to a definite ethnie, but such judgments should be based on a close reading of the text. The Ionians, Dorians, Greeks, Israelites, and Judeans, among many others, could all be considered definite ethnies based on the evidence reviewed in the texts. This does not mean that they were actually ethnic communities in reality, but rather they were perceived to be

ethnies by the authors of the texts, that ethnicity was being ascribed to them.

Clarification

The preceding section attempted to state clearly when and how the term "ethnic group" can be used in describing social identities found in ancient historical documents. In order to clarify how this method of identifying ancient ethnies was intended, that following comments address the weaknesses that appeared during the development of the project.

The project is consciously a general study using a comparative technique, rather than a detailed tracing of specific forms, in order to address a boolean question about the existence or nonexistence of ethnic groups as visible in ancient texts. It is intended to be used as a starting point for future research, and takes up the call James C. Miller expressed when he asked for i) a more specific theoretical understanding of ethnicity to distinguish other forms of social identity from specifically ethnic ones, and ii) a reading of ancient terms in a generalized historical setting in order to minimize the dependency on historical details.[598] A generalizing study such as this one, runs the risk of constructing a false image of monolithic, static cultures and ignoring important diachronic developments over time, but that is not how the work has been intended; such specificity was never an aim of the project. We did not examine or discuss the specific details of any particular group in significant detail, and our investigation has remained focused on the presence or absence of markers, not their particular evolutions over time. The question we addressed was whether or not ethnicity existed in early antiquity at all, not what it specifically looked like in any one time or place.

Note that all ancient history is translated. Studies like the present work can be accused

598 Miller 2008: 205; see also discussion in chapter three.

of being anachronistic. One could say that there were no "ethnic groups" in antiquity because ancient languages had no terms for the concept of ethnicity,[599] or that ethnicity is a specifically modern phenomenon. While the use of historical social terms would be preferable for any discussion of cultures or societies of the past—it would be wonderful to speak of Greek *ethnos* and Hebrew *`am* in every case—the over-reliance on foreign terms makes history unintelligible. Our job as historians requires translation; just for this reason, it is important that we understand the boundaries of meaning for the terms that we use. The articulation of social identities across a spectrum of ethnic associations can be analyzed as ethnic whether the ancient language in question possesses a term for it specifically or not. We are investigating what terminology is analytically appropriate, not what role the concept of ethnicity played in the past.

The project intentionally ignored several historiographic issues including documentary dates, diachronic issues surrounding different text traditions, and differences between writing about the distant past (e.g. Homer, Joshua, Agum-Kakrime) versus the more recent past (e.g. Thucydides, Ezra, Scholar in Assur). This choice was also made in the interest of a generalized approach in order to create a starting point for the discussion and to make future interdisciplinary and comparative work possible. The results of the study should be valid for any particular (ethnic) group, identity marker, or text, because the project was sufficiently large and general for the observed trends to be accurate even if significant chronological or historiographical issues were overlooked in one or two texts.

Finally, the project could be accused of lacking sufficient data for the conclusions it

599 See "Ethnicity" in chapter one and "From Ethnos to Ethnic" in chapter two for more on this issue. See the "Prevalent Identities" section of each case study for the closest available words in the ancient languages.

makes, particularly with regard to the concept of ethnicity in the second millennium BCE. This is a fair criticism, but the project focused on establishing a general outline of the concept of ethnicity, not on formalizing a developmental picture on the whole. It is a starting point. Future projects will add first-millennium Assyro-Babylonian texts and additional second millennium text corpuses to address this issue, and hopefully to construct a fuller picture of the concept of social identity in early antiquity.

Future Prospects

The present project set out to make a simple statement about a small and specific thing. Were there ancient ethnic groups and if so, where can we see them? We answered that yes, there were ancient ethnic groups and they are observable in the texts from the Eastern Mediterranean after 1000 BCE. A technique for evaluating whether a particular term was ethnic was outlined, and a typology was laid out to encourage and facilitate such activities. The project also established a linguistic foundation for the critical, theoretical use of ancient documents in social and identity research. It is a tiny base, but it is a beginning.

Several future prospects are suggested by the results of the project. First, obviously more data could be added to create a fuller picture of social identity and ethnicity in early antiquity, as mentioned above. Only with more data can some of the broader developmental issues begin to be investigated. The geographic picture would be clearer with a first-millennium Assyro-Babylonian text corpus, and the chronological picture would be clearer with at least one more second millennium textual corpus.

Second, there are suggestive parallels in the prevalent identities that warrant closer attention. These texts could be analyzed using theories or grammars of alterity in conjunction

with the ethno-symbolic approach to the social difference of specific, named groups, to analyze numerous features of the perception of difference developmentally. The grammars of identity/alterity outlined by Gerd Baumann, in particular, would be invaluable in such research.[600]

Third, an important shift occurred in the Eastern Mediterranean as a reaction to the encounter with the Achaemenid Persian Empire. In the Greek context, this change is what Jonathan Hall described as a shift (c.480 BCE) in Greek self-definition from an "aggregative" identity, which summarized the constituent member groups as they appeared to be, to an "oppositional" identity, which prescriptively defined Greek identity in apposition to the Persian one.[601] In the Hebrew Bible, a similar shift occurred (c. 537 BCE) from the more inclusive identities in the early and middle period texts to the exclusivity of the late texts. The near-simultaneity of these changes cannot be a coincidence, and warrants further investigation.

Fourth and finally, it does seem that the concept of ethnicity was invented in the early first millennium BCE, most likely as a consequence of the Bronze Age Collapse. This traumatic shift probably created the opportunity for new forms of political and social authority to develop, for older forms of identity and alterity to be adapted to new circumstances, and for an historical component to be added to previously primarily geographic markers of identity. These changes seem to have created, or invented, the concept of ethnicity, but much more data will need to be mustered to demonstrate the possibility. Nonetheless it is tempting to speculate, because striking parallels exist between the dawn of the Modern Age and the beginning of the Iron Age with regard to the transformations of social identity.

600 Baumann and Gingrich 2004.

601 Hall 1997: 47–54.

The Invention of Ethnicity?

As we have seen, the earlier conceptions of social difference lacked two of the six ethno-symbolic markers of ethnic identity. Both of the missing components concern narrative time: the myth of common ancestors (II) and shared historical memories (III). The dramatic events surrounding 1000 BCE created the conditions for a new relationship with narrative time. It allowed for the creation of what Benedict Anderson describes as the birth of authoritative history.[602] In other words, professionals begin to speak for the past; and the concept of ethnicity requires the installation of such a narrative. While the true details of the past became hazy and were slowly forgotten, this sense of the past created an opportunity for speakers to stand up and narrate the features of that past.[603] Widespread debate continues about how far-reaching the social collapse of 1000 BCE was, but even if it only affected a large fraction of the international culture, the colossal monuments and ruined palaces of fallen kingdoms served as proof that an impressive past had occurred, even as the details got lost in the shuffle. To grossly paraphrase Anderson,

> All profound changes in consciousness, by their very nature, bring with them characteristic amnesias. Out of such oblivions, in specific historical circumstances, spring narratives… [the colossal monument], fine child of the [Bronze] Age, is only the most peremptory of a huge accumulation of documentary evidence which simultaneously records a certain apparent continuity and emphasizes its loss from memory. Out of the estrangement comes a conception of personhood, *identity*, which, because it is not 'remembered,' must be narrated.[604]

While there is sufficient, even abundant, evidence to demonstrate the presence of ethnic phenomena in ancient writings from the first millennium BCE, we struggle to find similar

602 Anderson 2006: 197–9.

603 Steven Grosby has made a similar argument, though his argument focuses on the birth of the Israelite nation as a nation rather than an ethnic group: cf. Grosby 1991.

604 Anderson 2006: 204.

articulations for formal concepts of ethnicity preceding the transformations that took place around 1000 BCE. Concepts of social and cultural difference certainly existed in earlier periods, but they were not as yet specifically ethnic. The relationship with historical memory underwent a traumatic change at that time which created an opportunity for new, authoritative histories to be imagined. It probably created the conditions for the invention of the concept of ethnicity.

Glossary of Theoretical Keywords

Aggregative ethnicity: a process that defines or describes ethnic identities by focusing on the historical identities that composed them. (see pg. 249)

Alterity: the concept of otherness; specifically the quality or state of being radically alien to the conscious self or to some particular orientation. (see pg. 14)

Categorical identity: a large-scale identification of a social unit, marked by a similarity of attributes for equivalent members of the group. Categorical identities include, but are not limited to, race, ethnicity, class, gender, sex, sexuality, religion, etc. (see pg. 92)

Collective: see *collective of people*.

Collective of people: the most generic way of describing a group of people represented or referred to by a particular identifier (or ethnonym). The phrase is an analytical placeholder for groups we might expect to be "ethnic groups."

Demonym: a term used as a synonym of *ethnonym* and *gentilic*. The term is a neologism that corrects the grammatical strangeness of using a Greek adjective that derives from *genos* "race, family" by using a Greek noun that derives from *demos* "people" and the suffix *-nym* "name." Although the word is more accurate, it has not become popular enough to use without causing additional confusion. (see pg. 30)

Ethnic: an adjective attributing a quality of *ethnicity* to a person, place, or thing.

Ethnic ascription: an *ethnic marker* that a user assigns to members of an *ethnie* that is explicitly identified as *socially different* from the user's group. (see pg. 8)

Ethnic association: a social collective represented by ethnic symbols where members develop common interests and political organizations. It is one of the four levels of *ethnic incorporation*. (see pg. 7)

Ethnic category: a perception of cultural difference between a group and outsiders. It is one of the four levels of *ethnic incorporation*. (see pg. 7)

Ethnic community: a social collective represented by ethnic symbols which possesses a permanent, physically bounded territory that can symbolically supersede political organizations. It is one of the four levels of *ethnic incorporation*. In the present project, the ethnic community is a synonym of *ethnie*. (see pg. 7)

Ethnic group: a generic term for a specific collective of people to whom an ethnic identity is ascribed. Various writers have used the term to mean very different concepts ranging from a simple analytical category to fully conscious, politically active social groups. The present study uses the term to describe the terminology of other writers, i.e. an "ethnic group", or simply an ethnic collective of people. (see pg. 7)

Ethnic identification: an *ethnic marker* where the user explicitly claims membership or an association with a particular *ethnie*. (see pg. 8)

Ethnic incorporation: the degree to which a group of people coheres around the concept of ethnicity. The more intensely the group socially interacts, the more incorporated it is. The four degrees of ethnic incorporation in the present study are, in increasing intensity: the *ethnic category*, *ethnic network*, *ethnic association*, and *ethnic communitiy*. (see pg. 7)

Ethnic marker: the various signs that signal an identification with at least one level of *ethnic incorporation*. Can be classified as *ethnic identifications* or *ethnic ascriptions* when information about the user can be deduced. (see pg. 8)

Ethnic network: a social collective represented by ethnic symbols in which some regular interaction between members distributes resources. (see pg. 7)

Ethnicity: a broad collective noun describing a range of associations linked to an unclear, essential concept. The core concept is referred to as *ethnie* in the present project. One of the primary goals of the project is to clarify the meaning and use of the term "ethnicity" in historical research, especially concerning the ancient world. (see pg. 7 and 17)

Ethnie: an *ethnic group*. More specifically, the central concept or essence of an ethnic group from which other, secondary uses of the concept of *ethnicity* are derived. The *ethno-symbolic* definition of the ethnie is as named units of population with common ancestry myths and historical memories, elements of shared culture, some link with a historic territory, and some measure of solidarity, at least among their elites. (see pg. 7 and 17)

Ethno-national: a collective identity linked primarily to a particular *territory*. The term is intentionally opaque in order to preserve the uncertain reading of particular markers. (see pg. 92)

Ethno-religious: a community of people dedicated to a set of common beliefs associated with a particular cult or deity, and by extension describes a community of people assumed to posses a certain set of common traits that were, at least initially, defined in part by reference to the belief in a particular cult or deity. The term is intentionally opaque in order to preserve the uncertain reading of particular markers. (see pg. 96)

Ethnosemantics: also known as "cultural linguistics," is the field of linguistic anthropology that examines the role cultural difference plays in expressing and understanding concepts, such as words for colors, time, kinship, or organization. (see pg. 27)

Ethno-symbolism: a theoretical approach to social identities that incorporates elements of both *instrumentalist* and *primordialist* approaches; it focuses on the symbolic value of ethnic markers, and examines their mobilization and implementation for the purposes of social and political action. (see pg. 23)

Ethnolinguistic: an approach to the analysis of ancient identities that ascribes identity to an individual or place based on the language from which the name is derived. (see pg. 157)

Ethnonym: a proper name for a collective of people. (see pg. 29)

Gentilic: a linguistic term for a name of a collective of people that is conventinally used as an adjective or a noun. The present study uses it only as an adjective and uses *ethnonym* as a noun. (see pg. 30)

Instrumentalism: a theoretical approach to social identities that focus on *ethnic markers* as social, political, and cultural resources that are utilized by different interest and status groups. Instrumentalists are criticized for being overly concerned with material interests, for failing to take seriously the participants' sense of their ethnie, and above all, for under-appreciating the influence and affect of ethnicity itself. (see pg. 22)

Large ethnicity: an analytical term for the categorical identity described by an ethnonym, in apposition to *small ethnicity*. (see pg. 159)

Lateral ethnicity: the process by which an *ethnie's* definition expands in space (inclusively) at the cost of social depth (specificity). See also *vertical ethnicity*. (see pg. 149)

Oppositional ethnicity: a process that defines or describes ethnic identities by focusing on differences from other, contemporary identities. (see pg. 249)

Primordialism: a theoretical approach to social identities that focus on the deep historical ties to the past that individuals attribute to concepts of religion, blood, race, language, territory, and custom. Primordialist approaches to ethnicity attempt to explain the potency of particular symbols by focusing on the psychological dimension of ethnicity. (see pg. 21)

Race: a categorical identity that regards biology as playing a significant role in the perception of social difference. Like *ethnic group*, various writers have used the term race to mean different concepts. Historical concepts of race were primarily biological, but those ideas were mostly rejected by the scientific community before the 1990s. More recently, the concept has been associated with an ideological concept of race focusing on the social elements signified by biology or appearances, but this concept is analytically synonymous with *ethnicity* in historical research. (see pg. 10)

Small ethnicity: an analytical term for the categorical identity scholars describe when they ascribe an identity to particular identity markers, in apposition to *large ethnicity*. (see pg. 159)

Social difference: a perception of difference among people that separates individuals into groups with shared identities. It is often, although by no means always, assumed to be cultural difference, but biological elements may also be involved. (see pg. 1)

Territory: land currently under the control of a particular people, in contrast to a homeland, which is a symbolic land from which a people is said to have originated. Territory and homeland may or may not refer to the same place for a particular people. (see pg. 92 and 233)

Vertical ethnicity: the process by which an ethnie's definition deepens socially (specificity) at the cost of tighter circumscription in space (exclusivity). See also *lateral ethnicity*. (see pg. 149)

Index of Primary Sources

Ancient Greek Documents

Biblical Hebrew Documents

Middle Babylonian Documents

Selected Bibliography

Abu El-Haj, Nadia. 2001. *Facts on the Ground : Archaeological Practice and Territorial Self-Fashioning in Israeli Society*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Abu El-Haj, Nadia. 2012. *The Genealogical Science : The Search for Jewish Origins and the Politics of Epistemology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Adams, Robert McC. 1981. *Heartland of Cities: Surveys of Ancient Settlement and Land Use on the Central Floodplain of the Euphrates*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Adkins, Lesley., and Roy Adkins. 1997. *Handbook to Life in Ancient Greece*. New York: Facts On File.

Alt, Albrecht, Friedrich Baumgärtel, Walther Eichrodt, Johannes Herrmann, Martin Noth, Gerhard von Rad, Leonhard Rost, Ernst Sellin, and Leonhard Rost, eds. 1934. "Die Bezeichnungen für Land und Volk im Alten Testament." In *Festschrift Otto Procksch zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 9. August 1934*, 125–48. Leipzig: A. Deichert.

American Anthropological Association. 1998. "AAA Statement on 'Race' (May 17, 1998)." http://www.aaanet.org/stmts/racepp.htm.

Anderson, Benedict. 2006. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, Revised Edition*. Revised edition. New York: Verso.

Andrade, Nathanael J. 2013. *Syrian Identity in the Greco-Roman World*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Anidjar, Gil. 2014. *Blood: A Critique of Christianity*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Anonymous. 1974. *Holy Bible, Revised Standard Version*. Reissue edition. New York: Plume.

Armstrong, John Alexander. 1982. *Nations before Nationalism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Aro, Jussi. 1955. *Studien zur Mittelbabylonischen Grammatik*. Studia Orientalia 20. Helsinki: Societas Orientalis Fennica.

Asad, Talal, ed. 1973. *Anthropology & the Colonial Encounter*. London: Ithaca Press.

Ashcroft, Bill. 2012. *Literature for Our Times : Postcolonial Studies in the Twenty-First Century*. Amsterdam; New York: Rodopi.

Asheri, David, Alan B. Lloyd, Aldo. Corcella, Oswyn. Murray, and Alfonso Moreno. 2007. *A Commentary on Herodotus Books I-IV*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Assmann, Jan. 2002. *The Mind of Egypt*. New York; Maidenhead: Henry Holt ; Melia.

Assmann, Jan, and John Czaplicka. 1995. "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity." *New German Critique*, 125–33.

Assmann, Jan., and Rodney. Livingstone. 2006. *Religion and Cultural Memory : Ten Studies*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

Bahrani, Zainab. 2003. *The Graven Image: Representation in Babylonia and Assyria*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

———. 2006. "Race and Ethnicity in Mesopotamian Antiquity." *World Archaeology* 38 (1): 48–59.

Balkan, Kemal. 1954. *Die Sprache Der Kassiten*. Vol. 37. Kassitenstudien 1. New Haven,: American Oriental Society,.

———. 1986. *Studies in Babylonian Feudalism of the Kassite Period*. Malibu: Undena Publications.

Banks, Marcus. 1996. *Ethnicity : Anthropological Constructions*. London ; New York, N.Y.: Routledge.

Baram, Amatzia. 1994. "A Case of Imported Identity: The Modernizing Secular Ruling Elites of Iraq and the Concept of Mesopotamian-Inspired Territorial Nationalism, 1922-1992." *Poetics Today*, 279–319.

Bartelmus, Alexa. 2010. "Restoring the Past. A Historical Analysis of the Royal Temple Building Inscriptions Form the Kassite Period." *Kaskal*, no. 7: 143–71.

Barth, Fredrik, ed. 1969. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. The Social Organization of Culture Difference*. London: Allen & Unwin.

Bashi Treitler, Vilna. 2013. *The Ethnic Project : Transforming Racial Fiction into Ethnic Factions*.

Baumann, Gerd, and André Gingrich, eds. 2004. *Grammars of Identity/alterity : A Structural Approach*. New York: Berghahn Books.

Beal, Timothy K. 1997. *The Book of Hiding : Gender, Ethnicity, Annihilation, and Esther*. London; New York: Routledge.

Beaulieu, Paul-Alain. 2005. "The God Amurru as an Emblem of Ethnic and Cultural Identity." In *Ethnicity in Ancient Mesopotamia : Papers Read at the 48th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Leiden, 1-4 July 2002*, edited by W. H. Van Soldt, R. Kalvelagen, and Dina Katz, 31–46. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.

Beckman, Gary. 2013. "Foreigners in the Ancient Near East." *Journal of American Oriental Society* 133 (2): 203–16.

Bellah, Robert Neelly, and Hans. Joas. 2012. *The Axial Age and Its Consequences*. Cambridge; London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Ben Zvi, Ehud. 2009. "Are There Any Bridges out There? How Wide Was the Conceptual Gap between the Deuteronomistic History and Chronicles?" Edited by G. N. Knoppers and K. Ristau. *Community Identity in Judean Historiography*, 59–86.

Ben Zvi, Ehud, and Diana Vikander Edelman, eds. 2014. *Imagining the Other and Constructing Israelite Identity in the Early Second Temple Period*. London ; New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark.

Berge, Kåre. 2014. “Categorical Identities : ‘Ethnified Otherness and Sameness’ : A Tool for Understanding Boundary Negotiation in the Pentateuch?” In *Imagining the Other and Constructing Israelite Identity in the Early Second Temple Period*, edited by Ehud Ben Zvi and Diana Edelman, 70–88. London ; New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark.

Bernal, Martin. 1997. “Race in History.” In *Global Convulsions: Race, Ethnicity, and Nationalism at the End of the Twentieth Century*, edited by Winston A. Van Horne, 75–92. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Bhabha, Homi K., ed. 1990. *Nation and Narration*. New York: Routledge.

Birx, H. 2006. *Encyclopedia of Anthropology*. Thousand Oaks CA: SAGE Publications, Inc. http://knowledge.sagepub.com/view/anthropology/SAGE.xml.

Bloch-Smith, Elizabeth. 2003. “Israelite Ethnicity in Iron I: Archaeology Preserves What Is Remembered and What Is Forgotten in Israel’s History.” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 122 (3): 401–25.

Blömer, Michael. 2015. *Religious Identities in the Levant from Alexander to Muhammed : Continuity and Change*. Turnhout: Brepols.

Boas, Franz. 1945. *Race and Democratic Society*. New York: J.J. Augustin.

Bohrer, Frederick Nathaniel. 2003a. *Orientalism and Visual Culture : Imagining Mesopotamia in Nineteenth Century Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

———. 2003b. *Orientalism and Visual Culture : Imagining Mesopotamia in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bommas, Martin. 2011. *Cultural memory and identity in ancient societies*.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Boyarin, Daniel. 2009. “Rethinking Jewish Christianity: An Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Category (to Which Is Appended a Correction of My Border Lines).” *Jewish Quarterly Review* 99 (1): 7–36.

Breasted, James Henry. 1916. *Ancient Times, a History of the Early World: An Introduction to the Study of Ancient History and the Career of Early Man*. Boston: Ginn and Company.

Brett, Mark G. 1996a. *Ethnicity and the Bible*. Leiden; New York: E.J. Brill.

———. 1996b. “Interpreting Ethnicity: Method, Hermeneutics, Ethics.” In *Ethnicity and the Bible*, by Mark G. Brett, 3–24. Leiden; New York: Brill Academic Publishers.

———. 2014. “Natives and Immigrants in the Social Imagination of the Holiness School.” In *Imagining the Other and Constructing Israelite Identity in the Early Second Temple Period*, edited by Ehud Ben Zvi and Diana Vikander Edelman, 89–104. London ; New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark.

Brinkman, J.A. 1968. *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia, 1158-722 B.C.* Analecta Orientalia 43. Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum.

———. 1972. “Foreign Relations of Babylonia from 1600 to 625 BC: The Documentary Evidence.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 76 (3): 271–81.

———. 1974. “The Monarchy in the time of the Kassite Dynasty.” In *Le Palais et la royauté: (Archéologie et civilisation)*, edited by Paul Garelli, 395–408. Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.

———. 1976a. “Kassiten.” In *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie*, 464–73. RLA 5. Berlin: de Gruyter.

———. 1976b. *Materials and Studies for Kassite History: A Catalogue of Cuneiform Sources Pertaining to Specific Monarchs of the Kassite Dynasty*. MSKH 1. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

———. 1980. “Forced Laborers in the Middle Babylonian Period.” *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 32 (1): 17–22.

———. 1984. *Prelude to Empire: Babylonian Society and Politics, 747-626 B.C.* Philadelphia, Pa.: Distributed by Babylonian Fund, University Museum.

———. 2004. “Administration and Society in Kassite Babylonia.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 124 (2): 283–304.

Brown, Brian A., and Marian H. Feldman. 2014a. *Critical Approaches to Ancient Near Eastern Art*. Boston/Berlin: De Gruyter.

———. 2014b. “Culture on Display-Representations of Ethnicity in the Art of the Late Assyrian State.” In *Critical Approaches to Ancient Near Eastern Art*, 515–42. Boston/Berlin: De Gruyter.

Brown, Francis, S. R Driver, Charles A Briggs, Edward Robinson, James Strong, and Wilhelm Gesenius. 2010. *The Brown, Driver, Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon: With an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic : Coded with the Numbering System from Strong’s Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible*. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers.

Brumfiel, Elizabeth M. 1992. “Distinguished Lecture in Archeology: Breaking and Entering the Ecosystem—gender, Class, and Faction Steal the Show.” *American Anthropologist* 94 (3): 551–67.

Buccellati, Giorgio. 1967. *Cities and Nations of Ancient Syria: An Essay on Political Institutions with Special Reference to the Israelite Kingdoms*. Rome, Italy: Istituto di Studi Del Vicino Oriente, Università di Roma.

———. 2009. “The Semiotics of Ethnicity: The Case of Hurrian Urkesh.” In *Festschrift für Gernot Wilhelm anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstages am 28. Januar 2010*, edited by Gernot. Wilhelm and Jeanette. Fincke, 79–90. Dresden: Islet.

Buettner, Elizabeth. 2012. “Ethnicity.” In *A Concise Companion to History*, edited by Ulinka. Rublack. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

Bury, Benjamin. 2010. “An Introduction to the Hebrew Bible – A Thematic Approach – By Sandra L. Gravett, Karla G. Bohmbach, F.V. Greifenhagen and Donald C. Polaski.” *Reviews in Religion & Theology* 17 (3): 273–76. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9418.2010.00549.x.

Busolt, Georg. 1893. *Griechische Geschichte bis zur Schlacht bei Chaeroneia*. Vol. 1. 3 vols. Gotha F.A. Perthes. http://archive.org/details/griechischegesch01busouoft.

Calhoun, Craig J. 1997. *Nationalism (Concepts Social Thought)*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Campbell, Ian. 2013. *Renaissance Humanism and Ethnicity before Race : The Irish and the English in the Seventeenth Century*. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press.

Cancik-Kirschbaum, Eva Christiane, Jörg Klinger, and Gerfrid G. W. Müller, eds. 2014. *Diversity and Standardization : Perspectives on ancient Near Eastern cultural history*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag Berlin.

Carpenter, Rhys. 1966. *Discontinuity in Greek Civilization*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Carr, David McLain. 2005. *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart : Origins of Scripture and Literature*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

———. 2010. *An Introduction to the Old Testament: Sacred Texts and Imperial Contexts of the Hebrew Bible*. Chichester, West Sussex, U.K.; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Cartledge, Paul. 1993. *The Greeks : A Portrait of Self and Others*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

Cataldo, Jeremiah W. 2014. “The Other : Sociological Perspectives in a Postcolonial Age.” In *Imagining the Other and Constructing Israelite Identity in the Early Second Temple Period*, edited by Ehud Ben Zvi and Diana Vikander Edelman, 1–19. London ; New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark.

Chavalas, Mark W. 2006. *The Ancient Near East: Historical Sources in Translation*. Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Clayden, Tim. 2014. “Kassite Housing at Ur: The Dates of the EM, YC, XNCF, AH and KPS Houses.” *Iraq* 76 (01): 19–64.

Clifford, James. 1986. “On Ethnographic Allegory.” In *Writing Culture : The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography : A School of American Research Advanced Seminar*, edited by James Clifford and George E. Marcus, 98–121. University of California Press.

Cline, Eric H. 2014. *1177 B.C.: The Year Civilization Collapsed*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Cody, Aelred. 1964. “When Is the Chosen People Called a Gôy?” *Vetus Testamentum*, 1–6.

Cohen, Abner. 1974. “Introduction: The Lesson of Ethnicity.” In *Urban Ethnicity*, edited by Abner Cohen, ix – xxiv. New York: Tavistock Publications [Distributed in the USA by Harper & Row Publishers, Barnes & Noble Import Division].

Cohen, Yoram. 2001. "The Image of the 'Other' and Hittite Historiography." In *Historiography in the Cuneiform World*, edited by Tzvi Abusch, Paul-Alain Beaulieu, John Huehnergard, Peter Machinist, and Piotr Steinkeller, 113–29. Bethesda, Md: CDL Press.

Cohn, Robert L. 2003. "Negotiating (with) the Natives: Ancestors and Identity in Genesis." *Harvard Theological Review* 96 (02): 147–66.

Collon, Dominique. 1987. *First Impressions: Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East*. London: British Museum Press.

Comaroff, John L., and Jean. Comaroff. 1992. *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Conant, Jonathan. 2012. *Staying Roman : Conquest and Identity in Africa and the Mediterranean, 439-700*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Connor, Walker. 1994. *Ethnonationalism : The Quest for Understanding*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Convegno Scelte alimentari e identità nel mondo antico, C. Grottanelli, and Lucio. Milano, eds. 2004. *Food and identity in the ancient world*. S.A.R.G.O.N. editrice e libreria.

Conversi, Daniele. 2007. "Mapping the Field: Theories of Nationalism and the Ethnosymbolic Approach." In *Nationalism and Ethnosymbolism : History, Culture and Ethnicity in the Formation of Nations*, edited by Athena Leoussi and Steven Grosby. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Corbey, Raymond, and Joep Leerssen, eds. 1991. *Alterity, Identity, Image : Selves and Others in Society and Scholarship*. Atlanta: Rodopi.

Cornell, Stephen E., and Douglas. Hartmann. 1998. *Ethnicity and Race : Making Identities in a Changing World*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Pine Forge Press.

Crawley, Richard. 1910. *Thucydides. History of the Peloponnesian War*. London: J.M. Dent E.P. Dutton. Perseus Digital Library. http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3atext%3a1999.01.0200 (accessed 3/25/15).

Crouch, Carly L. 2012. "The Threat to Israel's Identity in Deuteronomy: Mesopotamian or Levantine?" *Zeitschrift Für Die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 124 (4): 541–54.

Crouch, Carly L. 2014. *The Making of Israel*. Leiden; Boston: Brill Academic Publishers.

Crüsemann, Frank. 1996. "Human Solidarity and Ethnic Identity: Israel's Self-Definition in the Genealogical System of Genesis." In *Ethnicity and the Bible*, edited by Mark G Brett, 57–76. Leiden; New York: E.J. Brill.

Daix, David-Artur. 1999. "Review of Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity by Jonathan M. Hall." *Annales Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 54e Année (5): 1197–99.

Démare-Lafont, Sophie. 2014. "Identifiers and Identification Methods in Mesopotamia." In *Identifiers and Identification Methods in the Ancient World*, edited by Mark Depauw and Sandra Coussement. Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies.

Depauw, Mark, and Sandra Coussement, eds. 2014. *Identifiers and Identification Methods in the Ancient World*. Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies.

Derks, Ton., and Nico. Roymans. 2009. *Ethnic Constructs in Antiquity : The Role of Power and Tradition*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Deshen, Shlomo. 1974. "Political Ethnicity and Cultural Ethnicity in Israel during the 1960s." In *Urban Ethnicity*, edited by Abner Cohen, 281–309. New York: Tavistock Publications [Distributed in the USA by Harper & Row Publishers, Barnes & Noble Import Division.

De Smet, W. A. J. 1990. "Kashshû in Old-Babylonian Documents." *Akkadica*, no. 68: 1–19.

Detienne, Marcel. 2007. *The Greeks and us: a comparative anthropology of Ancient Greece*. Translated by Janet Lloyd. Cambridge, UK; Malden, MA: Polity Press.

Dever, William G., and Seymour Gitin, eds. 2003. *Symbiosis, Symbolism, and the Power of the Past: Canaan, Ancient Israel, and Their Neighbors from the Late Bronze Age through Roman Palaestina*. Eisenbrauns.

Dickson, Paul. 1997. *Labels for Locals : What to Call People from Abilene to Zimbabwe*. Springfield, Mass.: Merriam-Webster.

Dietler, Michael., and Carolina. López-Ruiz. 2009. *Colonial Encounters in Ancient Iberia : Phoenician, Greek, and Indigenous Relations*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Dirks, Nicholas B. 2001. *Castes of Mind : Colonialism and the Making of Modern India*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Dolukhanov, Pavel Markovich. 1994. *Environment and Ethnicty [sic] in the Middle East*. Aldershot [England]; Brookfield, Vt.: Avebury.

Dougherty, Carol., and Leslie. Kurke. 2003. *The Cultures within Ancient Greek Culture : Contact, Conflict, Collaboration*. Cambridge, UK; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Dych, Jonathan E. 1996. "The Ideology of Identity in Chronicles." In *Ethnicity and the Bible*, by Mark G. Brett, 89–116. Leiden; New York: Brill Academic Publishers.

Edelman, Diana. 1996. "Ethnicity and Early Israel." In *Ethnicity and the Bible*, by Mark G. Brett, 25–56. Leiden; New York: Brill Academic Publishers.

Edwards, Douglas R, and C. Thomas McCollough. 2007. *The Archaeology of Difference: Gender, Ethnicity, Class and the "Other" in Antiquity : Studies in Honor of Eric M. Meyers*. Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research 60/61. Boston, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research.

Edzard, Deitz Otto. 1960. "Die Beziehungen Babyloniens und Ägyptens in der mittelbabylonischen Zeit und das Gold." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 3 (1): 38–55.

Elcock, William Denis. 1960. *The Romance Languages*. London: Faber & Faber.

Eliav-Feldon, Miriam, Benjamin H Isaac, Joseph Ziegler, and Howard Gilman International Conference, eds. 2009. *The Origins of Racism in the West*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Elliott, Anthony. 2011. *Routledge Handbook of Identity Studies*. Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge.

Emberling, Geoff. 1997. "Ethnicity in Complex Societies: Archaeological Perspectives." *Journal of Archaeological Research* 5 (4): 295–344.

———. 1999. "Review of Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity by Jonathan M. Hall; The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present by Siân Jones." *American Journal of Archaeology* 103 (1): 126–27.

Emberling, Geoff, and Norman Yoffee. 1999. "Thinking about Ethnicity in Mesopotamian Archaeology and History." *Fluchtpunkt Uruk: Archäologische Einheit Aus Methodologischer Vielfalt: Schriften Für Hans J. Nissen, Rahden/Westf.: Marie Leidorf*, 272–81.

Eriksen, Thomas Hylland. 2004. "Place, Kinship and the Case for Non-Ethnic Nations." In *History and National Destiny: Ethnosymbolism and Its Critics*, edited by M. Montserrat Guibernau i Berdún and John Hutchinson, 49–62. Oxford: Blackwell.

———. 2010. *Ethnicity and Nationalism : Anthropological Perspectives*. 3rd ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Evelyn-White, Hugh G. 1936. *Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns, and Homerica*. Third revised edition. Loeb. Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press ; William Heinemann. http://www.theoi.com/Text/HesiodCatalogues.html (accessed 3/25/15).

Ezkenazi, Tamara Cohn. 2014. "Imagining the Other in the Construction of Judahite Identity in Ezra-Nehemiah." In *Imagining the Other and Constructing Israelite Identity in the Early Second Temple Period*, edited by Ehud Ben Zvi and Diana Vikander Edelman, 230–56. London ; New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark.

Fales, Frederick Mario. 2013. "Ethnicity in the Assyrian Empire: A View from the Nisbe (I): Foreigners and 'Special' Inner Communities." In *Literature as politics, politics as literature: essays on the ancient Near East in honor of Peter Machinist*, by David Stephen Vanderhooft, Abraham Winitzer, and Peter Machinist.

Faust, Avraham. 2006. *Israel's Ethnogenesis : Settlement, Interaction, Expansion and Resistance*. London; Oakville, CT: Equinox Pub.

Ferguson, Roderick A. 2012. *The Reorder of Things : The University and Its Pedagogies of Minority Difference*. Minneapolis: University Of Minnesota Press.

Finkelstein, Israel. 2007. “Digging for the Truth: Archaeology and the Bible.” In *The Quest for the Historical Israel : Debating Archaeology and the History of Early Israel : Invited Lectures Delivered at the Sixth Biennial Colloquium of the International Institute for Secular Humanistic Judaism, Detroit, October 2005*, edited by Israel Finkelstein, Amihai Mazar, and Brian B. Schmidt, 9–20. Atlanta, Ga: Soc. of Biblical Literature.

Finkelstein, Jacob J. 1966. “The Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty.” *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 95–118.

Fleming, Daniel. 2012. *The Legacy of Israel in Judah’s Bible: History, Politics, and the Reinscribing of Tradition*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Foster, Benjamin Read. 2005. *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature*. 3rd edition. Bethesda, Md: CDL Press.

Fragoulaki, Maria. 2013. *Kinship in Thucydides : intercommunal ties and historical narrative*.

Frame, Grant., and Ronald F. G. Sweet. 1995. *Rulers of Babylonia : From the Second Dynasty of Isin to the End of Assyrian Domination ; (1157 - 612 BC)*. Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press.

Funkenstein, Amos. 1993. *Perceptions of Jewish History*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Funke, Peter, and Nino. Luraghi. 2009. *The Politics of Ethnicity and the Crisis of the Peloponnesian League : Textual and Philosophical Issues*. Washington, D.C.; Cambridge, Mass.: Center for Hellenic Studies, Trustees for Harvard University ; Distributed by Harvard University Press.

Galil, Gershon. 2012. *The ancient Near East in the 12th10th centuries BCE : culture and history ; proceedings of the International Conference held at the University of Haifa, 25 May, 2010*. Münster: Ugarit-Verl.

Garfinkel, Yosef, Saar Ganor, and Michael G. Hasel. 2012. “The Iron Age City of Khirbet Qeiyafa After Four Seasons of Excavations.” In *The Ancient Near East in the 12th10th Centuries BCE : Culture and History ; Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the University of Haifa, 25 May, 2010*, edited by Gershon Galil, 149–74. Münster: Ugarit-Verl.

Gasche, Hermann, James A. Armstrong, Steven W. Cole, and Vahe G. Gurzadyan. 1998. *Dating the Fall of Babylon: A Reappraisal of Second-Millennium Chronology*. University of Ghent and the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

Geertz, Clifford. 1963. “Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States.” In *Old Societies and New States; the Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa*, edited by Clifford Geertz. London: Collier-Macmillan.

Gelb, Ignace J. 1955. “Notes on von Soden’s Grammar of Akkadian.” *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 12: 93–111.

———. 1962. “Ethnic Reconstruction and Onomastic Evidence.” *Names* 10 (1): 45–52.

Geller, Markham J., Sergei. Ignatov, and Theodor. Lekov. 2014. *Melammu : The Ancient World in an Age of Globalization*. Berlin: Edition Open Access.

Gellner, Ernest. 1964. *Thought and Change*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Gellner, Ernest. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Geyer, John B. 2009. "Another Look at the Oracles about the Nations in the Hebrew Bible. A Response to AC Hagedorn." *Vetus Testamentum* 59 (1): 80–87.

Gilan, Amir. 2008. "Hittite Ethnicity? Constructions of Identity in Hittite Literature." In *Anatolian Interfaces : Hittites, Greeks, and Their Neighbours : Proceedings of an International Conference on Cross-Cultural Interaction, September 17-19, 2004, Emory University, Atlanta, GA*, edited by Billie Jean. Collins, Mary R. Bachvarova, and Ian Rutherford, 109–18. Oxbow Books.

Glassner, Jean-Jacques. 2002. "Who Were the Authors before Homer in Mesopotamia?" *Diogenes* 49 (196): 86–92.

Gluckman, Max. [1956]1982. *Custom and Conflict in Africa.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Godley, A. D. 1920. *Herodotus, The Histories*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Perseus Digital Library. http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0126 (accessed 3/25/15).

Goldenberg, David M. [2003]2005. *The Curse of Ham: Race and Slavery in Early Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*. Second edition. Princeton, N.J.; Woodstock: Princeton University Press.

Goldstein, David B. 2008. *Jacob's Legacy : A Genetic View of Jewish History*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Gottwald, Norman K. 1979. *The Tribes of Yahweh: A Sociology of the Religion of Liberated Israel, 1250-1050 B.C.E.* Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books.

Gravett, Sandra L, Karla G. Bohmbach, E.V. Greifenhagen, and Donald C. Polaski, eds. 2008. *An Introduction to the Hebrew Bible: A Thematic Approach*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press.

Grosby, Steven Elliott. [1991]2002. "Religion and Nationality in Antiquity: The Worship of Yahweh and Ancient Israel." In *Biblical Ideas of Nationality: Ancient and Modern*, 13–51. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

———. [1993]2002. "Kinship, Territory, and the Nation in the Historiography of Ancient Israel." In *Biblical Ideas of Nationality: Ancient and Modern*, 52–68. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

———. 1994. "Debate: The Verdict of History: The Inexpungeable Tie of Primordiality - a Response to Eller and Coughlan." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 17 (1): 164–71.

———. [1995]2002. "Territoriality." In *Biblical Ideas of Nationality: Ancient and Modern*, 191–212. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

———. [1997]2002. “Borders, Territory and Nationality in the Ancient Near East and Armenia.” In *Biblical Ideas of Nationality: Ancient and Modern*, 120–49. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

———. 2002. *Biblical Ideas of Nationality: Ancient and Modern*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Guibernau i Berdún, M. Montserrat, John Hutchinson, and Anthony D. Smith. 2004. *History and National Destiny : Ethnosymbolism and Its Critics*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Hacking, Ian. 2002. *Historical Ontology*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Hagedorn, Anselm C. 2007. “Looking at Foreigners in Biblical and Greek Prophecy.” *Vetus Testamentum* 57 (4): 432–48.

Hall, Edith. 1989. *Inventing the Barbarian : Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy*. Oxford [England]; New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press.

Hall, Jonathan M. 1997. *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

———. 2002. *Hellenicity : Between Ethnicity and Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 2014. *A History of the Archaic Greek World, Ca. 1200-479 BCE*. Second edition. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

Hall, Stuart. 1992a. “New Ethnicities.” In “*Race”, Culture, and Difference*, edited by James Donald and Ali. Rattansi. London; Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications in association with the Open University.

———. 1992b. “The New Ethnicities.” In “*Race”, Culture, and Difference*, edited by James Donald and Ali Rattansi. Newbury Park, Calif: Sage Publications in association with the Open University.

Handelman, Don. 1977. “The Organisation of Ethnicity.” *Ethnic Groups : An International Periodical of Ethnic Studies*. 1 (3): 187–200.

Harris, Marvin. [1968]2001. *The Rise of Anthropological Theory: A History of Theories of Culture*. Third edition. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Hawkins, Ralph K. 2013. *How Israel Became a People*. Nashville: Abingdon Press.

Haynes, Stephen R. 2002. *Noah’s Curse : The Biblical Justification of American Slavery*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.

Heinz, Marlies. 1995. “Migration und Assimilation im 2. Jt. v. Chr.: Die Kassiten.” In *Zwischen Euphrat und Indus: aktuelle Forschungsprobleme in der Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*, edited by Karin Bartl, Reinhard Bernbeck, and Marlies Heinz, 165–74. Hildesheim; New York: Olms.

Hess, Richard S. 1993. *Amarna Personal Names*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Hobsbawm, E. J., and T. O. Ranger. 1983. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Holloway, Steven W. 2006. *Orientalism, Assyriology and the Bible*. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press.

Hölscher, Monika. 1996. *Die Personennamen der Kassitenzeitlichen Texte aus Nippur*. Münster: Rhema.

HoSang, Daniel., Oneka. LaBennett, and Laura. Pulido. 2012. *Racial Formation in the Twenty-First Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Huehnergard, John. 1996. *A Grammar of Akkadian*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.

Hutchinson, John. 1987. *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism : The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State*. London; Boston: Allen & Unwin.

Hutchinson, John, and Anthony D. Smith. 1994. *Nationalism (Oxford Readers)*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

———, eds. 1996. *Ethnicity (Oxford Readers)*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Ignatiev, Noel., and Mazal Holocaust Collection. 1995. *How the Irish Became White*. New York: Routledge.

Isaac, Benjamin H. 2004. *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

———. 2009. "Racism: A Rationalization of Prejudice in Greece and Rome." In *The Origins of Racism in the West*, edited by Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Benjamin H. Isaac, Joseph Ziegler, and Howard Gilman International Conference, 32–56. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Izre'el, Shlomo. 2013. "Amarna: The Amarna Texts." Reference. *ORACC (Open Richly Annotated Cuneiform Corpus)*. http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/contrib/amarna/corpus.

Jacobsen, Thorkild. 1939. "The Assumed Conflict between Sumerians and Semites in Early Mesopotamian History." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 59 (4): 485–95.

Jones, Sian. 1997. *The Archaeology of Ethnicity : Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*. New York: Routledge.

Kamp, Kathryn A., and Norman Yoffee. 1980. "Ethnicity in Ancient Western Asia during the Early Second Millennium BC: Archaeological Assessments and Ethnoarchaeological Prospectives." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 237: 85–104.

Keller, Edmond J. 1995. "The Ethnogenesis of the Oromo Nation and Its Implications for Politics in Ethiopia." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 33 (04): 621–34.

Kennedy, Rebecca Futo. 2014. *Immigrant Women in Athens : Gender, Ethnicity, and Citizenship in the Classical City*.

Kennedy, Rebecca Futo, C. Sydnor Roy, and Max L. Goldman. 2013. *Race and Ethnicity in the Classical World : An Anthology of Primary Sources in Translation*. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc.

Killebrew, Ann E. 2005. *Biblical Peoples And Ethnicity: An Archaeological Study of Egyptians, Canaanites, Philistines, And Early Israel 1300-1100 B.C.E.* Boston: Brill Academic Publishers.

King, Leonard William. [1916]1968. *A History of Sumer and Akkad: An Account of the Early Races of Babylonia from Prehistoric Times to the Foundation of the Babylonian Monarchy.* New York, NY: Greenwood Press.

Knoppers, Gary N, and Kenneth A Ristau, eds. 2009. *Community Identity in Judean Historiography: Biblical and Comparative Perspectives.* Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.

Krebs, Christopher B. 2011. *A Most Dangerous Book : Tacitus's Germania from the Roman Empire to the Third Reich.* New York: W.W. Norton & Co.

Kreitzer, Mark R. 2008. *The Concept of Ethnicity in the Bible: A Theological Analysis.* Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press.

Lambert, Wilfred G. 1957. "Ancestors, Authors, and Canonicity." *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 1–14.

Lee, Mireille M. 2015. *Body, Dress, and Identity in Ancient Greece.* New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Leoussi, Athena, and Steven Grosby, eds. 2007. *Nationalism and Ethnosymbolism : History, Culture and Ethnicity in the Formation of Nations.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Lévinas, Emmanuel. [1970]1999. *Alterity and Transcendence.* Translated by Michael B. Smith. New York: Columbia University Press.

Levine, Baruch A. 2005. "Some Indices of Israelite Ethnicity." In *Ethnicity in Ancient Mesopotamia : Papers Read at the 48th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Leiden, 1-4 July 2002*, edited by W. H. Van Soldt, R. Kalvelagen, and Dina Katz, 189–97. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.

Lewis, Bernard. 1991. "Watan." *Journal of Contemporary History*, 523–33.

Lewis, Sian. 2000. "Review of Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity by J.M. Hall." *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 120: 191.

Lewontin, Richard C. 1972. "The Apportionment of Human Diversity." *Evolutionary Biology* 6: 381–98.

Liddell, Henry George, Robert Scott, Henry Stuart Jones, Roderick McKenzie, and Thesaurus Linguae Graecae Project. 2011. "The Online Liddell-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon." http://www.tlg.uci.edu/lsj.

Lightfoot, Kent G. 1995. "Culture Contact Studies: Redefining the Relationship between Prehistoric and Historical Archaeology." *American Antiquity*, 199–217.

Limet, Henri. 1972. “L’étranger Dans La Société Sumérienne.” In *Gesellschaftsklassen Im Alten Zweistromland Und in Den Angrenzenden Gebieten; XVIII. Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, München, 29. Juni Bis 3. Juli 1970*, by Deitz Otto Edzard, 75:123–37. Munich, Germany: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

———. 2005. “Ethnicity.” In *A Companion to the Ancient Near East*, edited by Daniel C. Snell, 370–83. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub.

Linton, Ralph. 1955. *The Tree of Culture*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Lipschitz, Oded., and Manfred. Oeming. 2006. *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period*. Eisenbrauns.

Liverani, Mario. 1987. “The Collapse of the Near Eastern Regional System at the End of the Bronze Age: The Case of Syria.” In *Centre and Periphery in the Ancient World*, edited by Michael John. Rowlands, Mogens. Larsen, and Kristian. Kristiansen, 66–73. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 1990. *Prestige and Interest : International Relations in the Near East Ca. 1600-1100 B.C.* Padova: Sargon.

———. 2004. *Myth and Politics in Ancient Near Eastern Historiography*. Translated by Zainab Bahrani and Marc Van De Mieroop. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Longman, Tremper. 1991. *Fictional Akkadian Autobiography: A Generic and Comparative Study*. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns.

Luraghi, Nino. 2008. *The Ancient Messenians : Constructions of Ethnicity and Memory*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Machinist, Peter. 1986. “On Self-Consciousness in Mesopotamia.” In *The Origins and Diversity of Axial Age Civilizations*, edited by S. N. Eisenstadt, 183–202. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Maidman, Maynard P. 2011. “Nuzi, the Club of the Great Powers, and the Chronology of the Fourteenth Century.” *Kaskal* 8 (8): 77–139.

Malkin, Irad, ed. 2001. *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*. Washington, D.C.; Cambridge, MA.: Center for Hellenic Studies, Trustees for Harvard University ; Distributed by Harvard University Press.

Malkin, Irad. 2011. *A Small Greek World : Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Manning, Sturt W., Bernd Kromer, Peter Ian Kuniholm, and Maryanne W. Newton. 2001. “Anatolian Tree Rings and a New Chronology for the East Mediterranean Bronze-Iron Ages.” *Science* 294 (5551): 2532–35. doi:10.1126/science.1066112.

McCabe, Linda L., and Edward R. B. McCabe. 2008. *DNA : Promise and Peril*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

McCarthy, Andrew. 2010. “The Birth of Ethnicity in Iran: Mesopotamian – Iranian Cross-Cultural Relations in Late Prehistory.” In *The Development of Pre-State Communities in the Ancient Near East : Studies in Honour of Edgar Peltenburg*, edited by Diane Bolger, Louise C. Maguire, E. J. Peltenburg, and British Association for Near Eastern Archaeology., 217–24. Oxford: Oakville, CT : Oxbow Books.

McCoskey, Denise Eileen. 1999. “Answering the Multicultural Imperative: A Course on Race and Ethnicity in Antiquity.” *The Classical World*, 553–61.

———. 2002. “Race Before ‘Whiteness’: Studying Identity in Ptolemaic Egypt.” *Critical Sociology* 28 (1-2): 13–39.

———. 2003. “By Any Other Name? Ethnicity and the Study of Ancient Identity: A Review of Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity by Irad Malkin.” *Classical Bulletin* 79 (1): 93–109.

———. 2012. *Race : Antiquity and Its Legacy*. New York: Oxford University Press.

McCoskey, Denise Eileen, and John Talbot. 2006. “Naming the Fault in Question: Theorizing Racism among the Greeks and Romans.” *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 13 (2): 243–80.

McInerney, Jeremy. 2001. “Ethnos and Ethnicity in Early Greece.” In *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*, edited by Irad Malkin, 51–74. Washington, D.C.; Cambridge, MA.: Center for Hellenic Studies, Trustees for Harvard University ; Distributed by Harvard University Press.

———. 2014. *A Companion to Ethnicity in the Ancient Mediterranean*.

Michalowski, P. 2011. *The Correspondence of the Kings of Ur: An Epistolary History of an Ancient Mesopotamian Kingdom*. Winona Lake, Ind: Eisenbrauns.

Miller, James C. 2008. “Ethnicity and the Hebrew Bible: Problems and Prospects.” *Currents in Biblical Research* 6 (2): 170–213.

Miller, James Maxwell, and John Haralson Hayes. 2006. *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah*. Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press.

Mitchell, W. J. T. 2012. *Seeing through Race*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Moore, Megan Bishop. 2006. *Philosophy and Practice in Writing a History of Ancient Israel*. New York: T & T Clark.

Moran, William L. 1992. *The Amarna Letters*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Morrison, Larry R. 1980. “The Religious Defense of American Slavery Before 1830.” *Journal of Religious Thought* 37: 16–29.

Mortimer, Edward., and Robert Fine. 1999. *People, Nation and State : The Meaning of Ethnicity and Nationalism*. London; New York: I.B. Tauris.

Most, Glenn W. 2006. *Hesiod : Other fragments*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Mullen, Alex. 2013. *Southern Gaul and the Mediterranean : Multilingualism and Multiple Identities in the Iron Age and Roman Periods*.

Mullen, E. Theodore. 1993. *Narrative History and Ethnic Boundaries : The Deuteronomistic Historian and the Creation of Israelite National Identity*. Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press.

Murray, A. T. 1924. *Homer. The Iliad with an English translation.* Cambridge, MA: W. Heinemann; G.P. Putnam's Sons. http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3atext%3a1999.01.0134 (accessed 3/25/2015).

Nashef, Khaled. 1982. *Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes: Die Ors-und Gewässernamen der mittelbabylonischen und mittelassyrischen Zeit.* Edited by Jean Robert Kupper and Wolfgang Röllig. Vol. 5. Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients : Reihe B (Geisteswissenschaften) 7. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag.

Nestor, Dermot. 2010. *Cognitive Perspectives on Israelite Identity*. New York: T & T Clark International.

Neumann, Jehuda, and Simo Parpola. 1987. "Climatic Change and the Eleventh-Tenth-Century Eclipse of Assyria and Babylonia." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 46 (3): 161–82.

Newton Fellowship & Annual Byzantine Colloquium, Guillaume Saint-Guillain, and Dionysios Ch. Stathakopoulos, eds. 2012. *Liquid & Multiple Individuals & Identities in the Thirteenth-Century Aegean*. Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance.

Oelsner, Joachim. 1982. "Zur Organisation des gesellschaftlichen Lebens im kassitischen und nachkassitischen Babylonien: Verwaltungsstruktur und Gemeinschaften." In *Vorträge gehalten auf der 28. Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale in Wien, 6.-10. Juli 1981.*, edited by Hans Hirsch and Hermann Hunger, 403–10. Archiv für Orientforschung 19. Horn, Austria: Verlag Ferdinand Berger & Söhne.

Omi, Michael, and Howard Winant. 1994. *Racial Formation in the United States : From the 1960s to the 1990s*. New York: Routledge.

———. 2014. *Racial Formation in the United States*. 3rd edition. New York: Routledge.

Oppenheim, Adolf Leo. [1964]1977. *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization.* Revised edition / completed by Erica Reiner. Chicago; London: University of Chicago press.

Ottenheimer, Harriet. 2013. *The Anthropology of Language: An Introduction to Linguistic Anthropology*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.

Otto, Eckart. 2013. "Assyria and Judean Identity." In *Literature as Politics, Politics as Literature: Essays on the Ancient Near East in Honor of Peter Machinist*, edited by David Stephen Vanderhooft and Abraham Winitzer, 339–47.

Papadopoulos, John K. 1998. "Phantom Euboians." *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 10 (2): 191–219.

Parker, Victor. 2014. *A History of Greece : 1300 to 30 BC*. Chichester, West Sussex ; Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

Parpola, Simo. 2004. "National and Ethnic Identity in the Neo-Assyrian Empire and Assyrian Identity in Post-Empire Times." *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies* 18 (2): 5–22.

Paulus, Susanne. 2013. "The Limits of Middle Babylonian Archives." In *Archives and Archival Documents in Ancient Societies: Trieste, 30 September - 1 October 2011*, 87–103. Legal Documents in Ancient Societies, IV. Trieste: Edizioni Università di Trieste.

———. 2014. "Babylonien in der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jt. v. Chr. – (K)ein Imperium?. Ein Überblick über Geschichte und Struktur des mittelbabylonischen Reiches (ca. 1500-1000 B.C.)." In *Imperien und Reiche der Weltgeschichte: : epochenübergreifende und globalhistorische Vergleiche*, by Michael Gehler and Robert Rollinger. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

Petschow, Herbert. 1974. *Mittelbabylonische Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden der Hilprecht-Sammlung Jena*. Akademie-Verlag.

Pohl, Walter, Clemens. Gantner, and Richard E. Payne. 2012. *Visions of Community in the Post-Roman World : The West, Byzantium and the Islamic World, 300-1100*. Farnham, Surrey, England, UK; Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

Pohl, Walter, and Gerda Heydemann. 2013. *Strategies of Identification : Ethnicity and Religion in Early Medieval Europe*. Leiden ; Boston: Brill Academic Publishers.

Pomeroy, Sarah B. 2004. *A Brief History of Ancient Greece : Politics, Society, and Culture*. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Potts, D. T. 1999. *The Archaeology of Elam: Formation and Transformation of an Ancient Iranian State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Prewitt, Kenneth. 2013. *What Is Your Race? : The Census and Our Flawed Efforts to Classify Americans*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Prior, Michael, Keith W. Whitelam, Thomas L. Thompson, and John. Quigley. 1998. *Western Scholarship and the History of Palestine*. London: Melisende.

Rainey, Anson F. 2007. "Whence Came the Israelites and Their Language?" *Israel Exploration Journal*, 41–64.

Rainey, Anson F, and R. Steven Notley. 2006. *The Sacred Bridge Carta's Atlas of the Biblical World*. Jerusalem: Carta.

Ramírez Kidd, José E. 1999. *Alterity and Identity in Israel : The [ger] in the Old Testament*. Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Redford, Donald B. 1992. *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press.

Rendtorff, Rolf. 1996. "The Gēr in the Priestly Laws of the Pentateuch." In *Ethnicity and the Bible*, by Mark G Brett, 77–88. Leiden; New York: E.J. Brill.

Reynolds, L. D., and N. G. Wilson. 2013. *Scribes and Scholars. A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature Reynolds, Reynolds,*. Fourth Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rhodes, P. J. 2006. *A History of the Classical Greek World : 478-323 B.C.* Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers.

Richter, Daniel S. 2011. *Cosmopolis : Imagining Community in Late Classical Athens and the Early Roman Empire*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

Romanucci-Ross, Lola., and George A. De Vos. 1995. *Ethnic Identity : Creation, Conflict, and Accommodation*. AltaMira Press.

Rosenberg, Milla. 2003. "Race, Ethnicity, and History." In *Writing History : Theory & Practice*, edited by Stefan. Berger, Heiko. Feldner, and Kevin. Passmore, 313–29. London: Arnold.

Roth, Martha T. 1987. "Age at Marriage and the Household: A Study of Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian Forms." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 29 (04): 715–47.

Rubio, Gonzalo. 2007. "From Sumer to Babylonia: Topics in the History of Southern Mesopotamia." In *Current Issues in the History of the Ancient Near East*, edited by Gonzalo Rubio, Mark W Chavalas, and Association of Ancient Historians, 5–51. Claremont, CA: Regina Books.

Sackett, James R. 1982. "Approaches to Style in Lithic Archaeology." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 1 (1): 59–112.

Sadler, Rodney Steven. 2005. *Can a Cushite Change His Skin? : An Examination of Race, Ethnicity, and Othering in the Hebrew Bible*. New York; London: T & T Clark.

Said, Edward W. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Sassmannshausen, Leonhard. 1999. "The Adaptations of the Kassites to the Babylonian Civilization." In *Languages and Cultures in Contact: At the Crossroads of Civilizations in the Syro-Mesopotamian Realm ; Proceedings of the 42th [sic] RAI*, edited by Karel van Lerberghe and Gabriela Voet, 409–24. OLA 96. Leuven: Peeters Publishers.

———. 2001a. "Administrative Texts as a Source for Historiography." In *Historiography in the Cuneiform World*, by Tzvi Abusch, Paul-Alain Beaulieu, John Huehnergard, Peter Machinist, and Piotr Steinkeller, 441–54. Bethesda, Md: CDL Press.

———. 2001b. *Beiträge zur Verwaltung und Gesellschaft Babyloniens in der Kassitenzeit*. Baghdader Forschungen 21. Mainz: Von Zabern.

———. 2014. "Kassitische Herrscher Und Ihre Namen." In *He Has Opened Nisaba's House of Learning: Studies in Honor of Ake Sjöberg on the Occasion of His 89th Birthday on August 1st 2013*, by Georg Neumann, Leonhard Sassmannshausen, and E. J. Brill (Lejda), 165–99. Leiden; Boston: Brill.

Schloen, J. David. 2001. *The House of the Father as Fact and Symbol : Patrimonialism in Ugarit and the Ancient Near East*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Schmitz, Thomas A., and Nicolas. Wiater. 2011. *The Struggle for Identity : Greeks and Their Past in the First Century BCE*. Steiner.

Schniedewind, William M. 2005. *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel*. Cambridge University Press.

Seidl, Ursula. 1989. *Die babylonischen Kudurru-reliefs: Symbole mesopotamischer Gottheiten*. Freiburg, Schweiz; Göttingen: Universitätsverlag ; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Seux, M. J. 1967. *Epithetes royales akkadiennes et sumeriennes,*. Paris: Letouzey et Ane.

Shelley, Nathanael. 2015. "Kassu: Cultural Labels and Identity in Ancient Mesopotamia." In *Karduniaš. Babylonien Zur Kassitenzeit. Babylonia under the Kassites*. Vol. 11. Untersuchungen Zur Assyriologie Und V Orderasiatischen Archäologie. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Shils, Edward. 1957. "Primordial, Personal, Sacred and Civil Ties." *The British Journal of Sociology* 8: 130–45.

Sjöberg, Åke W. 1967. "Zu einigen Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Sumerischen." In *Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient: Adam Falkenstein zum [60. Geburtstag] 17 September 1966*, by Deitz Otto Edzard, 201–31.

Skinner, Joseph. 2012. *The Invention of Greek Ethnography : From Homer to Herodotus*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

Smith, Anthony D. 1986. *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

———. 1994. "The Politics of Culture: Ethnicity and Nationalism." *Companion Encyclopedia of Anthropology*, 706–33.

———. 1995. *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era*. Cambridge, MA: Polity Press.

———. 1996. "Culture, Community and Territory: The Politics of Ethnicity and Nationalism." *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)*, 445–58.

———. 1999. *Myths and Memories of the Nation*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

———. 2000. *The Nation in History : Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England.

———. 2009. *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism : A Cultural Approach*. London; New York: Routledge.

Smith, Justin E. H. 2011. "The Pre-Adamite Controversy and the Problem of Racial Difference in 17thcentury Natural Philosophy." In *Controversies within the Scientific Revolution*, edited by Marcelo. Dascal and Victor D. Boantza, 223–49. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Pub. Co.

———. 2012. "'Curious Kinks of the Human Mind': Cognition, Natural History, and the Concept of Race." *Perspectives on Science* 20 (4): 504–29.

Smith, Mark S. 1990. *The Early History of God: Yahweh and the Other Deities in Ancient Israel*. San Francisco: Harper & Row.

———. 2001. *The Origins of Biblical Monotheism: Israel's Polytheistic Background and the Ugaritic Texts*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Smyth, Herbert Weir. 1926. *Aeschylus, with an English Translation*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Perseus Digital Library. http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3atext%3a1999.01.0012 (accessed 3/25/15).

Snowden, Frank M. 1983. *Before Color Prejudice : The Ancient View of Blacks*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Sonik, Karen. 2012. "Hybridity, Metamorphosis, and Monstrosity: Defining Identity in Mesopotamia's First Cities." In . New York, NY. https://www.academia.edu/1896684/Hybridity_Metamorphosis_and_Monstrosity_Defining_Identity_in_Mesopotamia_s_First_Cities.

Sparks, Kent. 2003. "Genesis 49 and the tribal list tradition in ancient Israel." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 115 (3): 327–47.

Sparks, Kenton L. 1998. *Ethnicity and Identity in Ancient Israel Prolegomena to the Study of Ethnic Sentiments and Their Expression in the Hebrew Bible*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Sparks, Kenton L. 2005. "Ethnicity." In *Dictionary of the Old Testament: Historical Books*, by Bill T Arnold and H. G. M Williamson. Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press.

Sparks, Kenton L. 2009. "Israel and the Nomads of Ancient Palestine." In *Community Identity in Judean Historiography: Biblical and Comparative Perspectives*, edited by Gary N Knoppers and Kenneth A Ristau, 9–26. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.

Speiser, Ephraim A. 1960. "' People' and' Nation' of Israel." *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 157–63.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. 1987. *In Other Worlds : Essays in Cultural Politics*. New York: Routledge.

———. 1989. "Who Claims Alterity." In *Remaking History*, edited by Barbara Kruger, 269–92. Dia Art Foundation, Discussions in Contemporary Culture 4. Washington: Bay Press, S.

———. 1996. *The Spivak Reader : Selected Works of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak*. Edited by Donna. Landry and Gerald M. MacLean. New York: Routledge.

Steadman, Sharon R., and Jennifer C. Ross. 2010. *Agency and Identity in the Ancient Near East: New Paths Forward*. Oakville, CT: Equinox Publishers.

Steinert, Ulrike. 2012. *Aspekte Des Menschseins Im Alten Mesopotamien*. Leiden: Brill.

Stein, Peter. 2000. *Die mittel- und neubabylonischen Königsinschriften bis zum Ende der Assyrerherrschaft: grammatische Untersuchungen*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Stepan, Nancy. 1982. *The Idea of Race in Science : Great Britain, 1800-1960*. Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books.

Stocking, George W. 1968. *Race, Culture, and Evolution : Essays in the History of Anthropology*. London ...: Collier-Macmillan.

———. 1974. *The Shaping of American Anthropology, 1883-1911; a Franz Boas Reader*. New York: Basic Books.

———. 1987. *Victorian Anthropology*. London: Collier Macmillan Pub.

Stol, Martin. 1995. "Private Life in Ancient Mesopotamia." In *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, edited by Jack M Sasson, 1:485–501. New York, NY: Scribner.

Stott, Katherine M. 2008. *Why Did They Write This Way?: Reflections on References to Written Documents in the Hebrew Bible and Ancient Literature*. New York: T&T Clark.

———. 2009. "A Comparative Study of the Exilic Gap in Ancient Israelite, Messenian, and Zionist Collective Memory." In *Community Identity in Judean Historiography: Biblical and Comparative Perspectives*, edited by Gary N Knoppers and Kenneth A Ristau, 41–58. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.

Strong, James. 1990. *The New Strong̓s Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible: With Main Concordance, Appendix to the Main Concordance, Topical Index to the Bible, Dictionary of the Hebrew Bible, Dictionary of the Greek Testament*. Nashville, Tenn.: T. Nelson Publishers.

Szuchman, Jeffrey Justin. 2007. "Prelude to Empire: Middle Assyrian Hanigalbat and the Rise of the Aramaeans (Dissertation)." Los Angeles, CA: University of California Los Angeles.

Talalay, Lauren E. 1997. "Reflections on Identity and Ethnicity in the Ancient World (keynote Address)." In *All for One or One for All? (Re)constructing Identity in the Ancient World*. Bryn Mawr College, PA. http://www.brynmawr.edu/archaeology/guesswho/talalay.html.

Tenney, Jonathan S. 2011. *Life at the Bottom of Babylonian Society: Servile Laborers at Nippur in the 14th and 13th Centuries BC*. Leiden: Brill.

Terrell, John. 2001. *Archaeology, Language, and History : Essays on Culture and Ethnicity*. Westport, Conn.: Bergin & Garvey.

Thompson, Thomas L. 1998. "Hidden Histories and the Problem of Ethnicity in Palestine." In *Western Scholarship and the History of Palestine, Melisende, Londres*, by Michael Prior, 23–39. London: Melisende.

Tonkin, Elizabeth, Maryon McDonald, and Malcolm Chapman, eds. 1989. *History and Ethnicity*. A.S.A. Monographs 27. New York: Routledge.

Van Alphen, Ernst. 1991. "The Other within." In *Alterity, Identity, Image : Selves and Others in Society and Scholarship*, edited by Raymond Corbey and Joep Leerssen. Atlanta: Rodopi.

Van Binsbergen, Wim M. J., and Fred. Woudhuizen. 2011. *Ethnicity in Mediterranean Protohistory*. Oxford, England: Archaeopress.

Van De Mieroop, Marc. 1999. *Cuneiform Texts and the Writing of History*. London; New York: Routledge.

———. 2002. "A History of Near Eastern Debt?" In *Debt and Economic Renewal in the Ancient Near East*, edited by Michael Hudson and Marc Van De Mieroop, 59–94. Bethesda, MD: CDL Press.

———. 2007a. *A History of the Ancient Near East, Ca. 3000-323 B.C.* 2nd Edition. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

———. 2007b. *The Eastern Mediterranean in the Age of Ramesses II*. Malden, MA.; Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

———. 2010. "A Study in Contrast: Sargon of Assyria and Rusa of Urartu." In *Opening the Tablet Box. Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Benjamin R. Foster*, edited by Sarah C. Melville and Alice Louise Slotsky, 417–34. Leiden ; Boston: Brill.

Van Den Berghe, Pierre L. 1978. "Race and Ethnicity: A Sociobiological Perspective." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 1 (4): 401–11.

———. 1995. "Does Race Matter?" *Nations and Nationalism* 1 (3): 357–68.

Van Der Spek, Bert. 2009. "Multi-Ethnicity and Ethnic Segregation in Hellenistic Babylon." In *Ethnic Constructs in Antiquity : The Role of Power and Tradition*, edited by Ton. Derks and Nico. Roymans, 101–16. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Van Driel, G. 2005. "Ethnicity, How to Cope with the Subject." In *Ethnicity in Ancient Mesopotamia : Papers Read at the 48th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Leiden, 1-4 July 2002*, edited by W. H. Van Soldt, R. Kalvelagen, and Dina Katz. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.

Van Houten, Christiana de Groot. 1991. *The Alien in Israelite Law*. Sheffield: JSOT Press.

Van Koppen, Frans. 2004. "The Geography of the Slave Trade and Northern Mesopotamia in the Late Old Babylonian Period." In *Mesopotamian Dark Age Revisited : Proceedings of an International Conference of SCIEM 2000 (Vienna 8th-9th November 2002)*, edited by Hermann Hunger and Regine. Pruzsinszky, 9–33. Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

———. 2010a. "The Old to Middle Babylonian Transition: History and Chronology of the Mesopotamian Dark Age." *Ägypten Und Levante/Egypt and the Levant*, 453–63.

———. 2010b. "The Old to Middle Babylonian Transition: History and Chronology of the Mesopotamian Dark Age." *Ägypten Und Levante/Egypt and the Levant*, 453–63.

Van Seters, John., and Mazal Holocaust Collection. 1983. *In Search of History : Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Van Soldt, W. H., R. Kalvelagen, and Dina Katz, eds. 2005. *Ethnicity in Ancient Mesopotamia : Papers Read at the 48th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Leiden, 1-4 July 2002.* Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.

Von Soden, Wolfram. 1952. *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik*. 3., ergänzte Auflage. Analecta Orientalia 33. Roma: Editrice Pontificio Insituto Biblico.

Wade, Peter. 2007. *Race, Ethnicity and Nation : Perspectives from Kinship and Genetics*. New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Wailoo, Keith., Alondra. Nelson, and Catherine Lee. 2012. *Genetics and the Unsettled Past : The Collision of DNA, Race, and History*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.

Wallerstein, Immanuel. [1974]2011. *The Modern World-System I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century, with a New Prologue*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press.

Weber, Max. [1922]1978. *Economy and Society : An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

West, M. L. 1985. *The Hesiodic Catalog of Women : Its Nature, Structure, and Origins*. Oxford [Oxfordshire]; New York: Clarendon ; Oxford University Press.

White, Hayden V. 1987. *The Content of the Form : Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Whiting, Robert M. 1995. "Amorite Tribes and Nations of Second-Millennium Western Asia." In *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, edited by Jack M Sasson, 2:1231–42. New York, NY: Scribner.

Whitmarsh, Tim. 2010. *Local Knowledge and Microidentities in the Imperial Greek World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wiggermann, Frans. 2008. "A Babylonian Scholar in Assur." In *Studies in Ancient Near Eastern World View and Society : Presented to Marten Stol on the Occasion of His 65th birthday,10 November 2005, and His Retirement from the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam*, edited by Marten. Stol, R. J. van der. Spek, and G. Haayer, 203–34. Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press.

Wilhelm, Gernot. 1989. *The Hurrians*. Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips.

Winckler, Hugo. 1907. *The History of Babylonia and Assyria*. Scribner.

Wiseman, D. J. 1973. *Peoples of Old Testament Times*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Wiseman, Sam. 2014. *Assembling Identities*. Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Wittfogel, Karl August. 1957. *Oriental Despotism; a Comparative Study of Total Power*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Young, Robert. 1995. *Colonial Desire : Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race*. New York: Routledge.

Zacharia, Katerina. 2008. *Hellenisms : Culture, Identity, and Ethnicity from Antiquity to Modernity*. Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

Zadok, R. 1985. "Suteans and Other West Semites during the Latter Half of the Second Millennium BC." *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 16: 59–70.

Zangenberg, Jürgen., Harold W. Attridge, and Dale B. Martin. 2007. *Religion, ethnicity, and identity in ancient Galilee : a region in transition*. Mohr Siebeck.